KHALID CHAUHAN

GENDER INEQUALITY IN THE PUBLIC SECTOR IN PAKISTAN

Representation and Distribution of Resources

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Softcover reprint of the hardcover 1st edition 2014 978-1-137-42646-8

First published in 2014 by
PALGRAVE MACMILLAN®
in the United States—a division of St. Martin's Press LLC,
175 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10010.

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ISBN 978-1-349-49083-7 ISBN 978-1-137-42647-5 (eBook)
DOI 10.1057/9781137426475
Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data is available from the Library of Congress.

A catalogue record of the book is available from the British Library.

Design by Newgen Knowledge Works (P) Ltd., Chennai, India.

First edition: August 2014

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

To my mother for her selfless contribution toward the education of many a poor girl, and her vision that we must get involved in turning people's lives around and giving them hope for a better future.

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Preface

This book examines the problem of gender inequality in the public sector of Pakistan in relation to the increasingly applied development solution of gender training of public sector employees. The three main development approaches, that is, Women in Development (WID), Women and Development (WAD), and Gender and Development (GAD), and the corresponding labor market theories of gender inequality—social, economic, and political—consider the solution to the problem of gender inequality to be, respectively, the integration of women in institutions, women's access to economic resources, and the reorganization of gender relations through dismantling of entrenched patriarchy. In practice, gender training has increasingly become the development solution and there is a belief that training will result in institutional transformation and the elimination of gender inequality.

The research for this book was concerned with how gender training relates to the problem of gender inequality in terms of issues of women's low representation, access to resources, and institutional policies and practices. Interviews of 198 public sector employees in Pakistan were conducted to seek their views on increase in women's representation as a vehicle for progress toward gender equality; the changes and policies that might be required for gender equality; and the changes that might have occurred as a result of gender training showing signs of progress toward gender equality. The data captured the views of both male and female employees, with and without gender training, belonging to two geographic locations, ten organizations, and at three levels within the organizations.

The book shares some interesting findings such as, rather then creating congenial environment and a desire to promote gender equality, training

provoked and reflected inherent resistance to women's representation and access to resources. Training did not bring about significant changes in practices of research participants to show that it had promoted equality, instead practices training promoted continued to be determined by institutional inertia caused by existing/unchanged organizational policies. Similarly, an interesting finding was of a contest between the opposing interests of men and women about the issues of women's representation and access to resources: both men and women in junior-management levels unequivocally opposed steps for any increase in the representation of women in organizations through quotas; women asked for greater access to institutional and social resources; men in similar positions opposed women's greater access to institutional and social resources. These findings point out that gender inequality is inherently political and willingness to promote it would be deterred if it clashed with the interest of individuals regardless of their gender. This finding was also supported by the finding of what I call "Patriarchal benevolence" shown by men in senior-management positions in their support for increased women's representation and resources, because their elite status was not challenged by interventions at the lower level, and such a move did not clash with their interest. There were not any signs of transformation in organizational practices after gender training and as a result gender-trained research participants merely returned to work in the same old existing patriarchal male-dominated public sector.

These findings seek a refocus of development interventions by suggesting that it would be naive to think that more and better training can cure the problem of gender inequality, or that women's low representation and limited access to resources are the standalone causes of gender inequality, as assumed in the WID and WAD approaches to development. Instead, there is a need to think of women's low representation and less access to institutional resources as the effects of the patriarchal control of institutions, by the vested interests, mainly the men. The political theories of gender inequality in the labor market and gender inequality as a political problem around the issue of interest are supported. While training is important, the problem of gender inequality first requires political interventions cast around changing the patriarchal processes, policies, and procedures that secure the vested interests of the few, mainly men, and thus disenfranchise majority of women. At a time when there is an increased focus on development-aid effectiveness and results-based management, to achieve progress

toward the goal of gender equality, rather than the amount and numbers of gender sensitivity trainings, development agencies, government, and the NGOs must consider and focus simultaneously on the extent of women's equitable representation, their access to resources, and equity-oriented policy frameworks as indicators of progress toward gender equality.

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Abbreviations

AASHA	Alliance against Sexual Harassment
ADB	Asian Development Bank
AJK	Azad Jammu and Kashmir
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BPS	Basic Pay Scale
CBOs	Community-based organizations
CCA	Cabinet Committee on Agriculture
CCE	Cabinet Committee on Energy
CCOI	Cabinet Committee on Investment
CCOP	Cabinet Committee on Privatization
CCRB	Cabinet Committee on Regulatory Bodies
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
CGA	Country Gender Assessment
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
COE	Council of Europe
CPS	Country partnership strategy
CSP	Civil Service of Pakistan
ESTACODE	Civil Establishment Code
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
FATA	Federally Administered Tribal Areas
GABRIELA	General Assembly Binding Women for Reforms, Integrity, Equality, Leadership and Action
GAD	Gender and Development
GBG	Gender Based Governance Systems
GDP	Gross domestic product
GGI	Gender-gap index

GMP&DD	Gender Mainstreaming in Planning and Development Project
GOP	Government of Pakistan
GRAP	Gender Reform Action Plan
GSP	Gender Support Program
HRCP	Human Rights Commission of Pakistan
ICG	International Crisis Group
ICPD	International Conference on Population and Development
INGOs	International nongovernmental organizations
INSTRAW	International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women
KPK	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa
NCGR	National Commission for Government Reforms
NGOs	Nongovernmental organizations
NORAD	Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation
NTCIP	National Trade Corridor Improvement Program
NWFP	North West Frontier Province
PPAF	Pakistan Poverty Alleviation Fund
PRM	Pakistan's Resident Mission
PWNG	Women's National Guard
PWNR	Pakistan Women's Naval Reserve
RHRP	Rural Housing Reconstruction Program
RNE	Royal Netherland Embassy
RWGD	Rural Women's General Directorate
SEWA	Self Employed Women's Association
SPSS	Statistical Package for Social Sciences
SSCC	Social Sector Coordination Committee of the Cabinet
UN	United Nations
UNCED	United Nations Conference on Environment and Development
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WAD	Women and Development
WID	Women in Development
WPS	Women Political School

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

This book problematizes the attempts by donor agencies and governments in developing countries to incorporate gender analysis in the work of development. It shows how after the global shifts from women to development institutions as the cause of gender inequality and the need to "get the institutions right" for achieving progress toward the goal of gender equality, gender sensitivity training became the main method of incorporating gender into development work, and why it is not a satisfactory solution.

The case of public sector of Pakistan with a focus on gender sensitivity trainings has been used as evidence. In Pakistan, only 5 percent of the public

sector workforce is women, whic
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Development (GAD) approach using gender sensitivity training has come to mean training by the men to men with no tangible benefits to women.

The problem of gender inequality in the public sector of Pakistan is of entrenched patriarchal processes, policies, and procedures that secure the interests of dominant groups, invariably men, thus maintaining their effective control over women. The primary positions of leadership and seniority in the public sector are invariably occupied by men, and women are concentrated in the secondary sectors or secondary and junior positions. This imbalance creates both vertical and horizontal gender inequality in the public sector. Political dynamics and power mechanisms—such as promotion rules based on time of service, entry into service only at the junior organizational levels—ensure control of seniors in hierarchy and results in occupational closure,[1] at least to the extent of senior positions for women in the public sector. The elite status and the conflict of interest between groups vying for a monopoly over existing opportunities determine the extent to which an organization or positions within it remain closed to women. Ironically, a novice may not feel tricked by the patriarchal benevolence shown by those in the more senior levels and may not judge that they may simply be supporting more women in institutions because they know that existing human resources rules and policies will only result in more women in the entry level positions, which would not compromise their elite status due to occupation of senior positions which can only be filled through promotion. This begs an understanding of the politics of inequality in a given situation. This suggests that women's low representation and limited access to resources rather than being thought of as the causes must be seen as the effects of the patriarchal control of institutions. The political theories of gender inequality in the labor market that had been unequivocal about patriarchal processes, policies, and procedures giving power to men and disenfranchising women merit serious consideration by the development actors (Connell 2005; Johnson 2005; Shankar and Northcott 2009; MacKinnon 2010; Walby 2010).

However, for development in practice, unfortunately this is not the case, and instead often a benign and soft solution of more and better training is often assumed as a taken for granted recipe for the problem of gender inequality. As you read, the research described in this book will show how after staff training on gender sensitivity and awareness, organizational practices continued to be shaped by the overarching gender-blind mandates and policies of the public sector. You will realize that rather than an emphasis

on training, both government of Pakistan and development agencies could have made progress toward the goal of gender equality if they had worked for a critical reorientation of institutional policies and mandates, including human resources recruiting and promotion rules.

This chapter will introduce you to the key aspects of gender inequality taken up in the book, that is, (i) women's low representation, (ii) limited access to resources, and (iii) gender-insensitive policies. It will give a brief account of how GAD and gender mainstreaming policies around gender training are considered as a solution for the elimination of gender inequality in the public sector of Pakistan. Also listed are the research questions, the scope of the study, the methods adopted for data collection and analysis, the limitations of the study, and an outline of the organization of the chapters.

Research Issues

The focus of the book is the attempts by donor agencies and governments in developing countries, such as Pakistan, to incorporate gender analysis in the work of development. With the rise of GAD approaches, gender sensitivity training has increasingly become the most favored development solution for incorporating gender into development work (Woodford-Berger 2004). Development institutions, the governments of developing countries, and development feminists are invariably found busy in imparting gender trainings to employees of the public sector and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) (e.g., see Kusakabe 2005; Dasgupta 2007; Mukhopadhyay 2007b; UNDP 2007). There is a belief that action on gender inequality through gender sensitivity training can always be effective, albeit in isolation and recognition of the significance of context, power, privileges, interests, and institutional structures (Verloo 2001; Abou-Habib 2007; Verloo et al. 2009). The social, economic, and political theories of gender inequality in the labor market, and their concurrent development approaches including WID, WAD, and GAD that have evolved over the last four decades have identified three separate issues: the low representation of women in the labor market, their low access to resources, and the preservation of institutional structures that inhibit progress toward gender equality (Razavi and Miller 1995; Epstein 2007; Acker 2009; Kabeer 2009; Vijayamohanan, Asalatha, and Ponnuswamy 2009; MacKinnon 2010). However, there is little research on how the policy solution of training relates to these issues

of gender inequality and how these issues relate to each other. The following subsections introduce the theoretical and development underpinnings and give a brief account of these issues in the context of the public sector of Pakistan to carry the debate forward.

Issue of Representation

Increasing the representation of women in the labor market is the core solution in the social theories of labor market gender inequality as well as in the WID approaches to social development. Social theories of gender inequality in the labor market argue that the socially constructed roles of men and women in society result in the gender inequality in labor markets (Maccoby 1999: 118; Wharton 2005; Epstein 2007; Ballantine and Roberts 2010: 290). Since the 1970s the representation of more women in institutions has formed the core of the WID approaches to overcoming gender inequality in the labor market (Boserup 1970; Tinker 1976; UN 1976; Mazumdar 1979; Bandarage 1984; Vijayamohanan Asalatha, and Ponnuswamy 2009), with the United Nations (UN) leading the push for the increased representation of women in institutions (UN 1976; UN General Assembly 1979), and this has been taken up to varying degrees by member states.

In Pakistan, from that time, there has been a notional commitment to women's representation (GOP 1973b; 1998; 2003) but with little success as there are less than 5 percent women in Pakistan's public sector and almost all at lower levels (GOP 1998; 2003; 2006b). Reports commissioned by development agencies such as the Asian Development Bank (ADB) and the Pakistan government recommend the adoption of a quota policy, but this has not been implemented in any real way (GOP 1998; 2003; ADB 2000). Instead, since 2004, a liberal gender sensitivity training strategy under the banner of GAD approaches has been advocated by development agencies such as United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) as the key solution to the problem of gender inequality, thus completely ignoring the issue of women's low representation in the public sector.

There is little research in Pakistan that examines how gender sensitivity training could be a solution for gender inequality when public sector institutions are almost all male institutions due to marginal representation of women as such. Some self-confessing accounts of development feminists involved in imparting gender sensitivity training to the employees of NGOs

in other places indicate the limitation of gender sensitivity training when patriarchal contexts of these institutions are completely ignored (Abou-Habib 2007; Dasgupta 2007; Mukhopadhyay 2007b) but they have not looked specifically at the public sector. Therefore this book asks how gender sensitivity training impacts gender norms that could confidently be taken as signs of progress toward the goal of gender equality, and that too when in Pakistan women are marginally represented in the public sector.

Access to Resources

Women's access to resources as the solution to the problem of gender inequality has its genesis in both the economic theories of gender inequality in the labor market and the parallel WAD approaches. Economic theories of gender inequality in the labor market argue that a capitalist economy accrues economic advantage to men over women (Calás and Smircich 1999: 226; Connelly et al. 2000; Aitchison 2003: 29; Chowdhury 2010) and this can be taken care of by a greater integration of women aimed at equitable access to resources. WAD also considers "unjust international economic relations" as the cause of disadvantage faced by women (UN 1980: 5; Rathgeber 1990) and assumes a link between income earning and the development of women as equals to men (Khan et al. 1989). Representation in the workforce therefore results in women's increased access to resources. The critics maintain this view ignores the reality of women's responsibility for housework (McSweeney and Freedman 1980; Rathgeber 1990; Kabeer 1994; Momsen 2009). As a result of the double burden of labor and patriarchal norms and attitudes, women are increasingly being exploited in terms of cheap labor, uncongenial work conditions, and limited mobility (Elson and Pearson 1981; Safa 1981: 60).

In Pakistan, there is little research to show how women in the public sector face problems of access to social resources such as transport and other facilities including toilets and child day care centers, and accommodation when posted elsewhere (Qureshi 2000; Maqsood et al. 2005; Faisal 2010). This is, in part, due to the very low representation of women in the public sector, but more generally there is also a debate that low access to social resources such as education is due to a low demand by parents (Mahmood 2004; Aslam and Kingdon 2008) or due to a failure of supply by the state (Khan 1997; Mbeer 1998; Barber 2010). This low

representation in education can also result in a low representation in the public sector workforce.

This book asks how gender sensitivity training impacts gender norms facilitating women's increased access to resources in the public sector, or signs of change in policies that could confidently be taken as signs of progress toward the goal of gender equality.

Institutional Practices

Transformation in institutional policies, routines, and practices is rooted in both the political theories of gender inequality in the labor market and the GAD approaches. Political theories of gender inequality in the labor market argue that patriarchy is the primary cause (Donovan 2000: 156; Aitchison 2003: 28; Eagleton 2003: 59). Men dominate in a range of social structures including the modes of production, paid work, government, prisons, and cultural institutions (Walby 1990: 20) and they use state machinery, laws, and policies to maintain this domination (MacKinnon 2006). This necessitates going beyond issues of women's representation and their access to resources to examine the patriarchal structures, policies, and power relations that create unequal gender relations. This line of reasoning formed the core of the GAD approaches to gender inequality (Molyneux 1985; Kabeer 1994; Razavi and Miller 1995; Cornwall 2003: 1326). Opposed to the theory, the practices of GAD, however, are often criticized for focusing on women's agency and ignoring the role of institutional structures that put conditions and boundaries on women's ability to pursue their interests (Molyneux 2004; Kabeer 2005b; Jakimow and Kilby 2006; Kilby 2011). Moreover, development institutions have also been criticized for lack of formal structures for accountability required to achieve the goal of gender equality (Kilby 2004; Kilby 2011).

The concept of gender mainstreaming (True 2010: 191) that became the main face of GAD after the Beijing Conference also aimed to change gendered policies (COE 1998; Beveridge and Nott 2002; Daly 2005; Verloo 2005) by taking a gender perspective across all aspects of the workplace. In practice, however, it is shaped by a widespread belief that change in patriarchal policies can be achieved by the gender sensitivity training of bureaucrats (Woodford-Berger 2004; Verloo 2005; Abou-Habib 2007; Mukhopadhyay 2007b; Tiessen 2007; Verloo et al. 2009), which will result in changes in attitudes and behavior. Little is known about how training relates to the

activities of bureaucrats or if it can result in a change in patriarchal policies, behavior, and attitudes (Howard 2002; Dawson 2005; Kusakabe 2005), showing signs of institutional change (Verloo 2001; Woodford-Berger 2004; Verloo et al. 2009).

In Pakistan, there is little research on how gender sensitivity training relates to change in patriarchal practices in public sector institutions, with state policies generally believed to produce and reproduce the gendered identities of citizens (Naseem 2006; Durrani 2008; GOP 2009; Rashid 2009; Halai 2010). What is known is the dark side of the state, which in the past has enacted laws to disenfranchise women and made them half citizens (Mumtaz and Shaheed 1987; Weiss 2003; Mullally 2005; Rashid 2009; Shaheed 2010). The question that emerges is how, if at all, gender equality policies and practices of the public sector of Pakistan relate to the broader gender policies of the state (GOP 1973c: 72).

These issues are discussed along with the following questions.

Book Questions

How does women's representation, access to resources, and institutional policies relate to the issue of gender inequality in the public sector of Pakistan?

How do the gender of employees, their position in the organization, the sociopolitical context, and the structure of the organization impact the effectiveness of gender sensitivity training?

Scope of the Book

This book is grounded in the development approaches. WID and WAD identify integration of women in institutions and their access to resources as the solutions to the problem of gender inequality in the labor market. GAD and gender mainstreaming approaches seek to change patriarchal institutional policies to effect transformation in institutional practices. There is ongoing discussion as to which of these correctly identifies the solution, and what solutions could best achieve progress toward elimination of gender inequality in the public sector of Pakistan.

This book is important because it comes at a time when GAD gender mainstreaming approaches, rather than changing patriarchal institutional policies and practices, are increasingly emphasizing the gender sensitivity

training of employees as a means to eliminate gender inequality in the public sector. Other factors such as the structure of organizations, the sociopolitical context, gender, and the position of women in organizations have not been examined as possible variables (Mathur and Rajan 1997). There is often a naive belief that gender sensitivity training results in the transformation of unequal gender relations, but research to validate this belief is generally lacking (Verloo et al. 2009). The existing research is generally in the context of NGOs and multilateral agencies and not public sector organizations of developing countries (Mathur and Rajan 1997; Woodford-Berger 2004; Mukhopadhyay 2007b). Kusakabe, for example, suggests that gender sensitivity training is not related to change in the institutional activities of organizational members (Kusakabe 2005) and the solution to the apparent failure of gender sensitivity training is seen merely as more training, with no commensurate effort to understand the patriarchal institutional mechanisms that result in gender inequality (Howard 2002). By focusing on the relationship that gender sensitivity training and other factors may have with issues that have been identified in development theories and practices as the basis of gender inequality, this book intends to help determine the relevance of the strategies for progress toward the elimination of gender inequality in the development institutions of the developing countries.

In Pakistan too, where gender sensitivity training has assumed the status of a mantra for the solution to the problem of gender inequality in the public sector and where the assumptions informing the policy approach of gender sensitivity training, used by both the government of Pakistan and the development agencies, remain unchallenged, this book is beneficial. It also aims to enrich the little research that is there on the issues of women's representation and their access to resources and institutional practices, collectively or in relation to gender sensitivity training and other factors. Presently, the research and reports that do focus on the representation of women have invariably looked at the issue in the context of women's representation in political institutions and not the public sector (Reyes 2002; GOP 2003; Rai, Shah, and Ayaz 2007). Similarly, much less is known about the issue of women's access to resources in the context of the public sector of Pakistan (Qureshi 2000; Maqsood et al. 2005; Faisal 2010), and the issue of the role of patriarchal institutional policies and structures in the production of power and privileges in the public sector has not been

well researched. The book in hand will therefore provide new insights for tackling the problem of gender inequality in the public sector of Pakistan and other similar developing countries' contexts.

Methodology

The book includes insights from research conducted in two cities of Pakistan: Islamabad, the federal capital of Pakistan, and Muzaffarabad, the capital of the Pakistan-administered state of Azad Jammu and Kashmir (AJK). The public sector of Pakistan was selected due to the very low representation of women in the public sector. There is an assumption in the gender sensitivity training approaches that actors normally involved in policy making, when trained, become change agents and the issue of gender inequality is thus taken care of. This book tests and negates this assumption.

Data Collection and Analysis

The data set collected for the book research followed interviews and includes employees' opinions about issues of women's representation in public sector institutions, their access to resources through identification of the changes needed in organizations, and actual changes in institutional policies and practices. The data captures the diversity of views on the study issues of employees both with and without gender training, in ten organizations, in two geographic locations, and at three levels within the organizations. The demographics of the employees, including gender training (with and without), gender (male and female) sociocultural context (Islamabad and Muzaffarabad), position in organizational hierarchy (Public Service Promotion Scales 17, 18, and 19), and the organization that employees work for are the independent variables of the study. The study issues of women's representation in public sector institutions, their access to resources, and changes in institutional policies and practices are the dependent variables/factors of the study. The data has been collected through a range of open-ended questions framed to seek information on the research questions. The study uses a stratified random sample that allows a generalization of results (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2004; Onwuegbuzie and Johnson 2006), with the sample randomly drawn from government employees in Islamabad and Muzaffarabad[2] representing those with and without training.

The book uses a mixed method approach to data analysis and involves the transformation of qualitative data into numeric form (Sandelowski 2000; Driscoll et al. 2007; Sandelowski, Voils, and Knafl 2009). This helps reveal the "complexity of qualitative data" (Sandelowski, Voils, and Knafl 2009: 219) and allows the extraction of themes from it (ibid.: 220). It not only allows calculation of percentages and frequencies, which show the relevant contribution of individuals in the emergent themes, but the quantified matrices are also used for factor analysis which identify "meta-themes, [that] represent themes at a higher level of abstraction than the original emergent theme" (Onwuegbuzie 2003: 398). For the purpose, a statistical analysis[3] was undertaken and the trends that emerged were explained with help from the qualitative data.

Limitations of the Study

A key methodological limitation of the research was its geographic coverage. This book focuses only on employees of the federal government of Pakistan based in the federal capital Islamabad and those in the government of the state of AJK based in Muzaffarabad. This is partly due to the constraints of time and budget but also due to the worsening security situation at the time of the fieldwork. While the findings of the study must be seen in the context of this limitation, an argument can be made that the findings apply as much if not more to the provinces. Faisal (2010: 151) argues that research on public sector employees in Islamabad can be generalized to other provinces because the public sector in Islamabad has a proportional representation of provinces and is thus a microcosm of the whole of Pakistan. Future research on the pattern of this research at the provincial level would yield results that directly relate to provinces.

The second methodological limitation of the research relates to the design, which does not capture the perceptions of women and men who are not part of the public sector. Comparisons between public sector employees and those who may be wishing to join the public sector would be important, especially when the research issues include women's representation, access to resources, and institutional policies. The focus of this study was public sector employees with and without gender training, rather than the broader population. The study design also included factors such as an employee's gender, the sociopolitical context, position in organization, and identification of organization. The finding that some occupations in the public sector

are closed to women points to future research to raise the issues of representation, access to resources, and institutional policies with the groups of men and women who have been excluded from joining the public sector.

Organization of the Book

This chapter presents a brief outline of the book. It identifies the research issues, outlines the theoretical and development connections with the research issues, and points out the scope, methods, and limitation of the study.

Chapters 2 and 3 present a theoretical framework for the book. Chapter 2 examines three shifts in development practice since the 1970s: WID, WAD, and GAD, which respectively consider the integration of women, their access to resources, and changes in patriarchal structures and policies as the development solutions to the problem of gender inequality in the labor market. It notes that the social, economic, and political theories of gender inequality in the labor market identify marginal representation, access to resources, and institutional practices as the major issues causing gender inequality.

Chapter 3 reviews that the GAD approaches increasingly use gender training as a means to effect change in patriarchal structures, policies, and practices, but it is not a satisfactory solution.

Chapter 4 looks at the context of Pakistan to show that women's representation in institutions (WID), access to resources (WAD), and transformation in institutional policies (GAD) have seldom been practiced in the public sector of Pakistan. Gender inequality in the public sector of Pakistan involves all three issues, that is, low representation, little access to resources, and patriarchal practices. It highlights that rather than direct action on these issues, there has been a surge in the gender training of public sector employees as a solution for gender inequality in the public sector. As it is untested and unexplained, this development provides the rationale for this study, which is to examine the relationship of training to the issues of representation, access to resources, and institutional practices that are believed to be the root causes of gender inequality in the labor market.

Chapter 5 presents the results of the study regarding the issues of representation, access to resources, and organizational practices in relation to the gender training of employees. It shows that training is not a solution to the problem of gender inequality in the public sector of Pakistan and

that institutional processes, policies, and procedures disenfranchise women. Public sector organizations are largely closed to women, which also results from the resistance to change and the desire to maintain elite status. The patriarchal nature of the public sector fails to provide women equitable access to resources, which results in their powerlessness and their comparative disadvantage. Patriarchal benevolence can be seen in situations where there is no contest to the privileged status of men. The research found that rather than training, it is policies that determine the activities of employees that favor men and disadvantage women in the public sector.

Chapter 6 relates the findings to the social, economic, and political theories, and the development approaches presented in chapters 2 and 3 as well as the context of Pakistan presented in chapter 4 to draw conclusions on the problem of gender inequality in the public sector of Pakistan. This chapter discusses how progress toward gender equality in the public sector organizations of Pakistan depends not on training but on changes in patriarchal policies. Patriarchal mechanisms shape the desire to maintain the status quo and lead to opposition to the increased representation of women. Patriarchal mechanisms also result in women's low access to resources, which in turn results in their relative powerlessness. The progress toward the elimination of gender inequality in the public sector requires a transformation in patriarchal structures, policies, and procedures, rather than training per se.

Chapter 7 summarizes the findings of the research to draw some conclusions with regard to the problem of gender inequality in the public sector of Pakistan. The chapter emphasizes the need for a reorientation of development practice to seek a connection with the political theories of gender inequality in the labor market for a clear understanding of the basis of gender inequality in the labor market and some of the ways to remedy the problem.

The next chapter will discuss that a shift from WID to GAD has been positive in terms of a shift in focus from women to institutions as the cause of gender inequality, but that the goal of institutional transformation continues to suffer setbacks due to the adoption of unsatisfactory approaches in practice.

CHAPTER 2

Gender and Development

Introduction

This chapter discusses how development practice since the 1970s has been shaped by the notions of women's representation, their access to resources, and reformation of institutional structures. These notions have resulted in three shifts in development approaches: from WID to WAD and finally to GAD. WID approaches were based on the assumptions that lack of women's representation in institutions forms the basis of gender inequality in the labor market. The solution therefore lay in the integration of women into the workforce. This was tantamount to arguing that women do not participate in productive work, and so was challenged by WAD scholars. The WAD approaches were based on insights from research on the work done by rural women, which pointed out that while women work, they do not gain real benefits in terms of access to resources. They concluded that the problem of gender inequality in the labor market, rather than being about the participation of women, was due to their lack of access to resources. The development solution came in the form of income generation programs, which since the late 1970s have increased women's access to resources but have also called into question the terms and conditions of their access to resources. GAD scholars, noting the exploitative nature of these programs, pointed out that both WID and WAD approaches had focused on women, but were exploitative in that the changes that occurred did not address the fundamental structural issues around power. The patriarchal institutional structures in which women were embedded were establishing the content,

extent, and consequences of women's participation and their access to resources.

However, it is argued that while a plausible diagnosis of the problem of gender inequality in the developing countries was made by the GAD scholars, the transformative potential of the GAD approach and its post-Beijing concept of gender mainstreaming were misappropriated in much of the development practice. It either continued to focus on the provision of financial resources to women so that women themselves could overcome gender inequality, or it adopted the liberal and soft approach of gender sensitivity training for the inherently radical objective of a transformation in unequal gender relations. This chapter points out that, while participation and access to resources are desirable, these could be achieved through reformation in patriarchal institutional rules that determine the extent, content, and effects of women's participation and access to resources. Unless institutional constraints in the way of gender equality are alleviated in development practice, progress toward the transformation of unequal gender relations will be unattainable.

WID: The Politics of Integration

The integration of women in the labor force of the developing nations as a means to change norms of exclusion has been the foundation principle of the WID approach (Tinker 1976; UN 1976; Bandarage 1984; Connelly et al. 2000; Vijayamohanan, Asalatha, and Ponnuswamy 2009). This approach dates back to the early 1970s when "WID" as a term was first used by the Women's Committee of the Society for International Development, Washington, DC, Chapter to lobby for legal changes for increasing the representation of women, in development institutions (Rathgeber 1990; Moser 1993; Beckman and D'Amico 1994; Chant and McIlwaine 2009). WID demonstrates a unique convergence in the development and feminist views that emphasize the integration of women, albeit for various reasons, for increased productivity and gender equality (Razavi and Miller 1995: 2). Development at the time was based on the notion that "high growth rates are always better than low growth rates and distribution can be taken care of after growth is achieved" (Haq 1973: 30). There was a realization that growth could possibly be increased through hitherto untapped resources, including women (Seers 1964; Lanier 1968; Linke 1968; Elliott 1977; Rathgeber 1990; Kilby and Olivieri 2008). This, however, pointed to a

fundamental shift in the welfare policy model of the 1950s and 1960s[1] in which women were treated as beneficiaries of development rather than participants in development (Linke 1968; Moser 1993).

The newly emerging feminist views on development also began to highlight the negative effects of modernization in terms of the exclusion of women (Boserup 1970; Nash 1977; Staudt 1978; Mazumdar 1979). Boserup (1970) argued that women in some regions formerly had roles that went to men in the process of modernization. For example, in sub-Saharan Africa the predominant farming system was female centered but technological modernization, the introduction of cash crops, and the preference for male workers resulted in the exclusion of women from traditional agricultural work (p. 41). These arguments were later criticized as "technological determinism" that used "cultural values" and were "not located in any coherent theory" (Beneria and Sen 1981: 285). Boserup's argument that African women were previously independent but in the process of development by the colonialists were made dependent was also criticized as a "myth" and a "romantic vision of the independence and mobility of African women" (Huntington 1975: 1001). Her finding, however, that the policies promoting the use of technology by men in effect resulted in the marginalization of women was a fresh thought on development and "caused a radical reordering of ideas about development" that at the time were focusing on welfare policies such as home economics and child and maternal health care (Winslow 1995: 97). It was realized that by prioritizing women's participation in the development institutions through a WID approach, these norms could be challenged and changed (Bossen 1975; McElroy 2001: 87; Cornwall 2003; Krook and True 2010).

Both the development concerns of the time and the feminist views began to shape the WID agenda for a greater integration of women in economically productive work (Kambhampati 2004; Jain 2005). In the United States in 1973, the Percy Amendment was made to the Foreign Assistance Act[2] of 1961, requiring special attention to the integration of women in the government-funded development programs (reported in US House of Representative and US Senate 2003). This resulted in the establishment of the Office for Women in Development in the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) (Hoy 1998: 23). The push for the integration of women through a WID approach got further impetus through the adoption of the agenda of the integration of women by the UN (UN 1976; UN General Assembly 1979). The World's Conference of

the International Women's Year, held in Mexico from June 19 to July 2, 1975, considered "full participation of women...an important indication of the dynamic progress of peoples and their development" (UN 1976: 6). The conference urged[3] the participating governments, UN agencies, and international organizations "to accord high priority in their development assistance to projects that include the integration of women into the development efforts and the achievement of equality" (ibid.: 39). In 1979, the UN adopted the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW)[4] to stipulate that "any distinction, exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex" with adverse impact on women in social, political, economic, and cultural spheres formed discrimination and was liable for action (UN General Assembly 1979). CEDAW urged the state parties to take "all appropriate measures, including legislation, to ensure the full development and advancement of women" (UN General Assembly 1979: Article 3).[5] The WID approach was thus widely favored, as Elson and Pearson (1981) maintain.

> The idea that women's subordinate position stems from a lack of job opportunities, and can be ended by provision of sufficient job opportunities, is deeply rooted and held by a wide spectrum of opinion, from international development agencies, government bureaux, and mainstream Marxists to many women's organizations. (p. 87)

However, despite its wide currency, WID has had benefits and drawbacks, the main benefit being an increased number of women in organizations (Tinker 1976; Razavi and Miller 1995; Connelly et al. 2000; Vijayamohanan, Asalatha, and Ponnuswamy 2009). Major donor agencies such as the World Bank as early as 1977 adopted policies such as the appointment of WID advisors, which suggested a growing influence of the WID approach (World Bank 2010). The UN in 1976 established the International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW) and the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) (UN-Women 2011). In developing countries it also resulted in the establishment of ministries for women in governments (Kabeer 1994; Momsen 2009: 12).

More generally, the WID approach continues to benefit women in terms of changes in laws and quotas for women, which has resulted in

representation in political institutions where there had been none in the past (Kapur 2007). In India, a neighboring country and a cultural twin of Pakistan, with a history of social divisions, the practice of quotas as a compensation for historical discrimination has been beneficial to disadvantaged groups as well as women (Pande 2003; Nanivadekar 2006; Bhavnani 2009). Bhavnani (2009) found that the odds of women to win an election in a seat that was reserved in the last election improved five times more than in a seat that was never reserved for women, and that this improvement was due to a twofold process of the introduction of women into electoral politics through reservation that gives them the confidence to win as well as the lessons to the political parties that if women are allowed they can win elections. Political quotas resulted in increased financial transfer to the disadvantaged groups (Pande 2003). The mere presence of women through this approach also positively affected policies to reflect the preferences of women (De Paola, Scoppa, and Lombardo 2010). Banerjee and Somanathan (2007) argue that the explicit commitment by the Indian state in the 1970s and 1980s to have inclusive policies has resulted in near equal access to public goods for the disadvantaged communities of rural southern India. This suggests that women's integration in development institutions may reverse the norms of exclusion (McElroy 2001: 87; Cornwall 2003; Krook and True 2010). In Pakistan, except for a notional commitment to equal opportunities and affirmative action in the constitution, the state has not been serious in pursuing the WID approach for the equitable representation of women in political institutions (Mumtaz and Shaheed 1987; Khattak 2010; Oldenburg 2010; Shaheed 2010). This will be discussed further in chapter 4.

The main drawbacks of the WID approach relate to it ignoring the participation of women in the existing workforce, particularly in rural areas, the focus on women as a category, and the lack of focus on development institutions as the source of production of unequal gender relations (Nash 1977; Blumberg 1979; Rathgeber 1990; Kabeer 1994). The focus of the UN conference and CEDAW convention was on the "full development" of women as a category (UN 1976; UN General Assembly 1979: Article 3) rather than on development processes. CEDAW urged state governments "to eliminate discrimination against women in rural areas in order to ensure, on a basis of equality of men and women, that they participate in and benefit from rural development" (UN General Assembly

1979). In effect it assumed that women in rural areas did not participate in development activities that were carried by men. These misperceptions about the lack of participation of rural women in rural economies were strongly challenged at the time by the feminist researchers (Gulati 1978; Staudt 1978; Mazumdar 1979; Okeyo 1979; Sajogyo et al. 1979; Smock 1979; Guyer 1980; McSweeney and Freedman 1980).

While the integration of women in development was accepted, it was argued that "it is easy to be stepped on when not seen, a necessary precondition to their incorporation is to tear asunder the veil of invisibility in which they [women] have been enveloped" (Blumberg 1979: 451). The research at the time began to challenge this invisibility of women's work in rural economies (Gulati 1978). The failure of WID policies to look beyond women in the context of family to the interests of women workers in the field as well as women workers not tied to family (Staudt 1978: 439), whose work remained invisible, resulted in development policies and the accompanied technology favoring men at the expense of women (Ahmed 1983). The evidence suggested that development policies needed to amend their agenda on women (Buvinic and Mehra 1990; Kandiyoti 1990) and to influence policy and practice about the representation of women (Bossen 1975; Jain 2005).

A more serious limitation of WID policy that emerged in the 1990s was its inability to transform social gender relations (Kabeer 1994; Batliwala and Dhanraj 2007: 28; Kapur 2007: 125). Ban and Rao (2008), for instance, found that qualified women who made it into village government institutions performed no differently from men. They also found, however, that institutional factors such as the extent of domination by the upper caste and the maturity of these institutions were more important for women than men in terms of their participation. The failure of WID therefore can be understood in the context of the view on social policy that links the success of policy to the extent it accurately identifies a problem, formulates actions, focuses on individuals and groups, and provides choices regarding the kind and extent of change that it seeks to make (Burger 2007: 277). As WID is theoretically grounded in liberal feminism, it prefers women to work within the existing structures rather than trying to change society (Rathgeber 1990). Also it fails to examine the implications of either contribution of women in the household economy and reproduction (ibid.) or the structural basis of inequality, in the same way the Marxists and radical feminists did. The focus therefore, began to shift to a WAD approach with

a focus on economic structures and their role in gender inequality (Beneria and Sen 1981; 1982; Rathgeber 1990).

Power Neutrality

The WID approaches of greater integration of women in the development institutions are inspired by the social role theories of gender inequality that emphasize liberal notions of choice and opportunities but fail to account for the power dynamics that hinder choice and opportunities and thus create inequality (Rossides 1998; McElroy 2001: 87; Aitchison 2003: 327; Cornwall 2003; Mukhopadhyay 2007b). Critics maintain that liberals believe that by leaving aside the issues of power and social justice, the modified agenda of focusing only on welfare and efficiency becomes more acceptable to policy makers and development practitioners in the developing countries (Razavi 1997; Kabeer 1999; Mukhopadhyay 2007b: 138). Implicit in this view is the notion that the acquisition of power is a function of participation. That is, when issues of participation are resolved, women will automatically get more power, which they can use judiciously and responsibly on behalf of women (Batliwala and Dhanraj 2007: 28). The argument is that the integration of women and their cooperation with men makes the concept of male domination or "power over" redundant (ibid.: 27), which is a rather naive view of reality and ignores the transformation of gendered structures, which constitute unequal power relations (Cornwall 2003: 1326; Batliwala 2010: 112). As development focuses on the needs rather than the rights of women, it becomes a technical issue rather than a political one (Abou-Habib 2007; Dasgupta 2007; Mukhopadhyay 2007b). Power is not an uncontested resource redistributed through a mere integration of women in institutions (Mukhopadhyay 2007b); rather tackling gender inequality is a political project. The integration of women merely neutralizes women's concerns without changing the gendered structures or unequal power relations (Longwe 1997; Dasgupta 2007; Mukhopadhyay 2007b). Mukhopadhyay (2007b) points out that even after three decades of feminist engagement with development, policy makers neither routinely include gender analysis in planning, nor has any institutional change around gender relations occurred:

> The political project of equality are being normalized in the development business as an ahistorical, apolitical, de-contextualized and

> technical project that leaves the prevailing unequal power relations intact. (p. 135)

Official policies up to the third quarter of the twentieth century "assumed female dependence on male wage and family law, ... [and] the same assumptions about the marriage contract in terms of stability," thus making women totally dependent on men (Lewis 2001: 153). WID approaches that inform the official policies also ignore other variables of social power such as class, race, and economic power that also tend to create unequal power relations (Mies 1998; Lewis 2001). These serve to exacerbate the gender disadvantage that women experience, but women are considered an undifferentiated universal category unaffected by the issues of class, race, culture and ethnicity, and religion (Ember and Ember 2003: 16; Lippa 2005: 72), which play a role in the gender inequality of the labor market. As Maria Mies (1998) explains,

> The emphasis on sex-role stereotyping and attempts to solve the "women question" by changing this sex role stereotyping through non-sexist socialisation not only strengthened structural-functionalist analysis, but by so doing blocked the understanding of the deeper roots of women's exploitation and oppression. By defining the man-women problem as a question of social role stereotyping and of socialisation it was immediately put on an ideological plane; it became a cultural affair. (p. 13)

WAD: The Politics of Recognition and Access

The boundaries between WAD and WID are rather fuzzy, with some scholars using WAD as part of the WID approach (Razavi and Miller 1995; Razavi 1997) while others discuss them as quite separate (Rathgeber 1990; Momsen 1991; Narasaiah 2006). The point of departure from the WID approach first appeared in the mid-1970s with the view that women had always been participating in development but their participation remained invisible to mainstream development (O'Barr 1975; Moock 1976; Pala 1977; Gulati 1978; Bandarage 1984; Rathgeber 1990). This was due to the exploitative capitalist and other systems that privileged the elite class over the workers, and women being the unpaid workers suffered in the processes of

production (Bandarage 1984; Rathgeber 1990; Vijayamohanan, Asalatha, and Ponnuswamy 2009). While WID was purely about the integration of women in the existing systems, WAD considered class as a factor in sustaining "unjust international economic relations" (UN 1980: 5; Rathgeber 1990).

WAD also related to the broader development concerns at the time, which called into question the rationale of economic growth as the measure of development (Hicks and Streeten 1979). There was a view that growth without distribution[6] was meaningless (Haq 1973: 29). Pakistan and Nigeria, considered good examples of growth at the time, were turning into development nightmares due to the increase in poverty and growing inequality (Haq 1973). There was also a need to redefine development as the measure of fulfillment of the basic needs of citizens, which was in turn linked with the increase in growth rates (Hicks and Streeten 1979; Hicks 1979). This resulted in a shift toward a focus on access to resources through income generation as a means to provide for basic needs such as food, shelter, clothing, and education (Morawetz 1978; Hicks and Streeten 1979).

However, the feminist concerns about the invisibility of women's work in development shaped the basic needs agenda around the issue of women's access to resources. The Copenhagen World Conference on Women in July 1980 (UN 1980) declared, "The attainment of equality pre-supposes equality of access to resources and the power to participate equally and effectively in their allocation and in decision-making at various levels" (ibid.: 5). Inequality was related to underdevelopment, which was the outcome of "unjust international economic relations" (ibid.). The conference argued for "total development" that involved social, cultural, political, and economic spheres including "the development of economic and other material resources" (ibid.). The argument was that "human resources cannot achieve their full potential without integrated socio-economic development" (ibid.). The conference[7] therefore called upon donors "to provide capital funding for the implementation of projects in which women can develop skills while employed in income-generating activities" (ibid.: 98). There was the realization that gainful employment would result in women's access to income and fulfillment of basic needs, and would reduce poverty and inequality (Morawetz 1978; Hicks 1979; Hicks and Streeten 1979; UN 1980).

The development agencies started to focus on small-scale rural programs for income generation and poverty reduction (Carr 1990; Due et al. 1990). The World Bank at the same time adopted an antipoverty approach through its lending program (Javed Burki and Haq 1981) and USAID started funding research on small-scale enterprises in developing countries (Davies et al. 1984). Both research and development focused on strategies to tap the potential of the informal sector with regard to employment generation for poor women (Tendler 1989). In Pakistan the income generation programs included tapping the traditional skills of women for more commercial marketing and included embroidery, sewing, handloom cotton cloth, date leaf baskets, and arts and crafts (Khan et al. 1989). Elsewhere in other developing regions, such as Africa, women were encouraged to make articles of daily use[8] for sale (Stamp 1989).

These programs assumed a link between income earning and the development of women as a measure of gender equality (Khan et al. 1989). In effect they shared the modernization precept that economic growth through appropriate technology results in gender equality (Stamp 1989). Economists had earlier promoted small-scale projects for increasing the net surplus value in developing countries and had believed that rural underdevelopment caused by the underemployment of women held back the economic growth of the developing countries (Herman 1956; Hoselitz 1959; Patrick 1966). The focus on economic development for cultural and gender equality continues despite the optimistic gender assumptions surrounding them (Tansel 2005; Aslam 2009; Bobonis 2011; Liu 2011). These programs were more about diversifying the income sources of the rural families rather than about gender equality (Hurwitch-Macdonald 1985: 7). In effect, these programs also marginalized women further as their return on labor was less than if they had worked in agriculture, and at the same time the programs kept women out of the public space (Goetz and Gupta 1996).

The focus on income generation improved women's basic needs to some extent but often at the expense of women's strategic needs for empowerment and gender equality (Moser 1993) and, as noted above, this focus would marginalize them further by keeping them out of the public space. WID approaches assumed that women had spare time, which in reality resulted in a triple burden on women (McSweeney and Freedman 1980; Rathgeber 1990; Kabeer 1994; Momsen 2009). Women had to manage the roles of reproduction including childrearing and household maintenance, as well as subsistence production and income generation (Okeyo 1979). Women

were also economically exploited in terms of low wages, uncongenial work conditions, and limited mobility (Safa 1981: 60), due to their poor bargaining position (Elson and Pearson 1981; Safa 1981). Women were employed because they were considered "naturally more docile and willing to accept tough work discipline, and naturally less inclined to join trade unions, than men" (Elson and Pearson 1981: 93). Some aid projects used the gender division of labor to exploit women in projects by employing them as cooks rather than as managers (Bennett 1988), which reinforced the notion of the division of labor.

This represented another kind of exploitation of women by women along the welfare approach, the former being the poor, impoverished, and needy women, and the latter the elite or upper-middle-class women running income generation programs to benefit from the traditional skills of women for their own economic advantage (Khan et al. 1989), while paying the women lower wages than they would have paid men for similar work. The projects lumped all women together and ignored issues of class, race, and other social differences in the creation of gender inequality (Rathgeber 1990). The development agencies who funded these projects were reluctant to address the issues of class and gender division of labor (Buvinic 1986). The WAD approach was thus about the mobilization of women without their emancipation (Molyneux 1985). As Rathgeber (1990) maintains,

> WAD offers a more critical view of women's position than does WID, but it fails to undertake a full-scale analysis of the relationship between patriarchy, differing modes of production, and women's subordination and oppression. (p. 493)

Power Partiality and Materiality

The WAD approaches imply that "a radical redistribution of the power and wealth of society" requires women's increased access to economic resources (McElroy 2001: 87). This is, however, a partial view of power, in that they examine the issue of access to resources but do not take into account other more structural sources of power that create labor market's gender inequality. It implies that economics of demand and supply alone is the source of power and patriarchy, and they ignore the issue of gender inequality in socialist and feudal societies (Connelly et al. 2000). The belief that once women are

provided with material resources they will automatically be empowered is not tenable, as other actors and variables come into play (Mayoux 2003; Jakimow and Kilby 2006).

> Powerless groups, particularly if they are totally integrated within a system of power and exploitation, find it difficult to define reality differently from the powerful. This is particularly true for people whose material existence depends largely on the goodwill of the powerful. (Mies 1998: 15)

The situation of women in precapitalist societies points to the involvement of other variables affecting the low social status of women and suggests that patriarchy both pre-dates and postdates capitalism. In India, for instance, the social tradition of *sati* in which women had to self-immolate or were forcibly cremated by others has existed since ancient times (Major 2006; 2008; Ahmad 2009). In AD 1333, Ibn Batuta, an Islamic traveler, reported the presence of sati in India among Hindus (Ahmad 2009). In the early years of the empire, the British, rather than banning the tradition outright, administered it bureaucratically (Fisch 2006; 2007). It was banned[9] in 1829 but in 1987 the Sati (Prevention) Act was promulgated in India to make it a legally culpable offence to strengthen the law in places where it had been widely ignored (Major 2008). Despite the ban, cases of sati continued to be reported[10] in some parts of India as late as 2006 in Utter Pradesh and 2008 in Chattisgarh (Ahmad 2009). Sati is but one example and has been presented to highlight that along with capitalism, age-old feudal traditions of patriarchy lie at the heart of the discrimination and disadvantage encountered by women in all aspects of life including gender inequality in the labor market.

Other examples are marriage arrangements, including child marriage, dowry, and arranged marriages, all of which involve an economic transfer and the domination of men over women but lie outside the capitalist system (Anderson 2007; Waheed 2009; Nasrullah and Muazzam 2010). In Pakistan in 1993, changes were made in the law related to dowry and bridegrooms were barred from making demands for their dowry (Anderson 2007: 163) but the practice of demanding dowry continues unchecked. One of the reasons that women participate in the labor market is to save for dowry (Khan and Khan 2009). Dowry forms part of the feudal traditions, which also include exchange marriages and even honor killings, which

together determine women's status in society (Niaz 2004). The intersection of economic and sociostructural variables defines the low social status of women and affects their chances of gainful employment (Lovell 2000). Gender inequality in the labor market can best be explained as a political exercise aimed at control over women within the labor market (Aitchison 2003). The need to transform unequal relations is emphasized in the GAD approach to gender inequality (Molyneux 1985; Sen and Grown 1988; Kabeer 1994; Vijayamohanan, Asalatha, and Ponnuswamy 2009).

GAD: The Politics of Transformation

The GAD approach emerged in the mid-1980s as a holistic alternative to the earlier liberal-Marxist, WID-WAD approaches that had focused on women's integration in institutions such as state or community and their access to resources but had ignored the transformation of institutional structures that created unequal gender relations (Molyneux 1985; Kabeer 1994; Razavi and Miller 1995; Cornwall 2003: 1326). The GAD point of departure from the previous approaches was its focus on gender discrimination as an outcome of unequal power relations, rather than seeing women as a uniform category (Laslett and Brenner 1989; Moser 1989; Østergaard 1992; Vijayamohanan, Asalatha, and Ponnuswamy 2009). Women's interests were shaped by the practical gender interests that differ from one social context to another (Molyneux 1985). The universal goal of women's empowerment constituted strategic gender interests that result from the deductive analysis by feminist activists of women's situations in diverse contexts (Molyneux 1985; 2004; 2007). The practical and strategic gender interests distinction rejected the hitherto prevalent assumptions that all women automatically recognize strategic gender interests; that interests are insular to political and discursive factors as well as the realities of time and space; and that unaffected by class and other factors, all women show unity and cohesion on gender issues. This disentangling of women from gender implied that gender relations were about social relations rather than the biological attributes of women and men. The GAD approach argued that social structures are the basis of women's subordination (Moser 1989; 1993; Kabeer 1994). As Moser (1993) states,

> The focus on gender rather than women makes it critical to look not only at the category "women"—since that is only half the story—but at

> women in relation to men, and the way in which relations between these categories are socially constructed. (p. 3)

The GAD approach argues that private-public, reproductive-productive dichotomies are arbitrary and women's condition on one side of a dichotomy is influenced by the other side, that is, the private is influenced by the public, the reproductive by the productive and vice versa (Beneria and Sen 1982; Jaquette 1982; Bandarage 1984; Kabeer 1994). According to Connelly et al. (2000),

> GAD adopts a two-pronged approach to the study of women and development, by investigating women's material conditions and class position, as well as the patriarchal structures and ideas that define and maintain women's subordination. (p. 62)

Constraints to Transformation

The GAD ideal of transformation faces following barriers and constraints in development practice.

Patriarchy

Patriarchy is about unequal male-female power relations in which the former, aided by a range of social structures and systems, exercises effective control over the latter. Joseph (1999: 12) defines patriarchy as "the privileging of males and seniors and the mobilising of kinship structures, morality and idioms to legitimate and institutionalise gendered and aged domination." Patriarchy thus is a system of power and control through which women are oppressed (Lovell 2000). Connell coined the term "patriarchal dividend" to argue that "men gain a dividend from patriarchy in terms of honour, prestige and the right to command. They also gain a material dividend" (Connell 2005: 82). Patriarchy, however, does not mean that all men are powerful or all women are powerless (Johnson 2005), but such is the pervasiveness of patriarchy as a system of political power that in all societies even those who are not the vocal "front-line troops of patriarchy" benefit from this system of oppression that controls women; for example, those men who have never used violence to control women and who participate in housework (Connell 2005: 79).

From this perspective, gender inequality in the public sector is a manifestation of "male" control gained through patriarchy (Donovan 2000: 156;

Aitchison 2003: 28; Eagleton 2003: 59). It has been argued that patriarchy is so pervasive that no society can claim to be without some level of gender inequality (Johnson 2005; MacKinnon 2010). This stems from the hierarchal gender relations between men and women (Hunnicutt 2009: 557), so that powerful positions are effectively reserved for men in all economic, cultural, social, public, political, legal, religious, and professional institutions (Johnson 2005; Shankar and Northcott 2009). The exact nature of patriarchy, however, varies from society to society. Johnson (2005: 5) argues, "A society is patriarchal to the degree that it promotes male privilege by being *male dominated*, *male identified*, and *male centered* [emphasis original]."

Classic patriarchy is also the reason for pervasiveness of patriarchal culture in many countries (Kandiyoti 1988). This form of patriarchy is associated with Pakistan, India, Iran, China, Turkey, and countries in North Africa (Moghadam 2007; Yount 2011), and has its origins in feudalism. It is even more associated with the South Asian countries where gender relations are hierarchal to the extent that men have authority over women who are seen as being oppressed,[11] and excluded from rights to property, inheritance, and gainful employment (Jejeebhoy and Sathar 2001; Agarwal 1988; 2003).

Under the system of classic patriarchy, the household is controlled by the eldest men in the family (Moghadam 2002; Shankar and Northcott 2009; Yount 2011). Women's access to resources, choices, and employment decisions depend on the men in the family (Jejeebhoy and Sathar 2001), and girls are married at a young age and leave their father's house to enter the new family unit as the most subordinate individual. They are controlled by the husband's father and the elder women in the family (Moghadam 2007), and as such the choices of these women are mediated by the context of their new family (Lovell 2000) and they must improvise and negotiate within this patriarchal context (Yount 2011: 44). Women only gain some space by bargaining on the basis of the number of sons they give birth to (Shankar and Northcott 2009). The patriarchal system co-opts the elder women by giving them authority over the younger women in response to their lifelong allegiance to the patriarchal beliefs (Hunnicutt 2009: 564) and this helps to sustain the patriarchal system of power of men over women (Shankar and Northcott 2009; Yount 2011: 44).

Men's control over women is made possible through a view of women encouraged by a patriarchal culture, the state, and the labor market. Walby

(1990: 20) argues that the domination of men is achieved through a range of social structures including "the patriarchal mode of production, patriarchal relations in paid work, patriarchal relations in the state, male violence, patriarchal relations in sexuality and patriarchal relations in cultural institutions." Below are some other factors that are used to exercise patriarchal control over women.

The Political Use of Notion of Sexuality

The political use of notions of sexuality allows the creation of an unequal "sexual floor" that is then replicated in both the reproductive and the productive spheres including the workplace (Martin 2006: 267). Women are subjected to harassment in the community as well as in the labor market (Chowdhury 2010). Examples of men's perspective of women's sexuality in the labor market are wide ranging and include a manager's view of women as housekeepers, the dominant relationship between a male boss and a female subordinate, and the expectation that women will tolerate men's jokes and undertake the domestic tasks in the workplace such as getting tea and tidying the kitchen (Martin 2006). The nature of formal and informal interactions including meetings, policy formation, task assignment, and even informal staff interaction at lunchtime are the occasions when men express their bias against women, which reflect power differentials (ibid.). MacKinnon (2010) argues, "Power holds two futures in its hands: tell the truth, it crushes you; cave in and lie, you live but have abdicated your power" (p. 507). Since men occupy positions of power and also control resources, sexism in an organization can remain unchecked[12] (Martin 2006: 267).

State as the Rule Setter

State plays an important role in establishing control of men over women including that in the labor market (Özbilgin and Woodward 2003), as state policies, practices, laws, and ideologies can ensure the control of men over women (Özbilgin and Woodward 2003; Connell 2005: 85), as it is the state's prerogative to define what constitutes discrimination (MacKinnon 1987: 108). While sexual harassment has existed in workplaces, educational institutions, and between coworkers, seniors, and subordinates since time immemorial, the law has not considered sexual harassment an act of discrimination until quite recently (MacKinnon 1993). It required intense lobbying by feminists to convince states that it is discrimination (Higgins 2006). The same applies to citizenship, where historically the

state has had a gendered concept of citizenship (Walby 1990; 2000), where men were the citizens (Özbilgin and Woodward 2003) and women were not considered equal (MacKinnon 2006). This is still the case in many Middle Eastern states where women require the permission of their menfolk to travel. So in this way the patriarchal dividend that accrues to men relates in fact to the power of the state in terms of its differential provision of citizenship, education, and employment (Connell 2005). The privileged education of men results in their economic advantage over women in employment and promotion, and only the power of the state can prevent such men from using force against women (ibid.: 116). For example, in Western countries the state's designation of domestic violence as a criminal offence makes violent men subject to conviction but in countries like Pakistan the practice of domestic violence continues unabated. Most states outside the liberal West, however, typically are reluctant to act against sexual harassment[13] in the workplace, as it is considered a private affair (Dale 2005; Zippel 2006).

MacKinnon (2006) argues, "The state actually is typically deeply and actively complicit in the abuses against women" (p. 23). The state is often a men's club that deliberately neglects women's interests, with laws framed by men that consider women at best the subject of protection (MacKinnon 2007). There are considerations about what are appropriate and inappropriate forms of work for women, including late-night shifts and so-called dangerous work (Özbilgin and Woodward 2003; MacKinnon 2007). Clear and mandated gender inequality in the labor market includes professions such as the military, the police, and often the judiciary, and is due to the long-term exclusionary policies of the state. The horizontal and vertical gender inequality in the labor market that results from a prolonged practice of exclusionary policies by the state cannot be undone solely through equal opportunity policies that are often implemented as an afterthought (Özbilgin and Woodward 2003). Gender inequality in the labor market is the outcome of men's tendency to exclude women from organizations to retain their dominant status.

Occupational Closure

Patriarchal control may also be an outcome of the contest between dominant and subordinate groups in this case men and women. This is referred to as "Occupational Closure" (Parkin 1979; Witz 1990). Men as the dominant group establish gender inequality in the labor market by setting the

criteria that make women ineligible for the powerful positions (Hartmann 1976; Parkin 1979; Eisenstein 1990; Walby 1990). From this perspective, gender inequality in terms of the exclusion of women is the outcome of the use of power by the dominant group (Özbilgin and Woodward 2003). Exclusion is also possible through the dual closure strategies in which the subordinate group, that is women, affected by the demarcation of boundaries by the dominant group, in turn begins to mimic the exclusionary strategies of the dominant group (Parkin 1979; Özbilgin and Woodward 2003). Parkin (1979) argues, "Exclusionary social closure is an aspect of conflict and cleavage within social classes, as well as between them . . . exploitation occurs within the subordinate class as well as against it" (p. 89). Status groups, based on their power, can monopolize opportunities (Murphy 1988: 9). Weber (edited by Gerth and Turner 1991) argues, "Material monopolies provide the most effective motives for the exclusiveness of a status group" (p. 191). The benefit to groups of occupational closure is that "all those in possession of a given qualification are deemed competent to provide the relevant skills and services for the rest of their professional lives" (Parkin 1979: 56).

The strategies of occupational closure are "a means of mobilising male power in order to stake claims to resources and opportunities distributed via the mechanisms of the labour market" (Witz 1990: 44). For example, Abbott and Meerabeau (1998: 206) found that in arguing for the need for nurses rather than social workers to provide care to the sick and elderly, nurses were practicing occupational closure against social workers and were consolidating their professional identity as the "nursing elite." This raises the problem in universalizing the category "women" as there is a diversity of women's situations (Eagleton 2003: 58). Power relations are political, not "a 'zero-sum game' in which power is gained by one side at the expense of other" (Aitchison 2003: 28). Gender inequality in the labor market is formed in the political processes involving the dominant and subordinate groups in the labor market. While this analysis has focused on the political nature of power in the context of men and women in the labor market, a whole range of social structures and institutions is used to establish control of men over women (Walby 1989; 1990; 2000).

Religion and Region

Patriarchal control of women by men can also be ensured by narrow interpretation of religion[14] or simply location in a geographic region. In the case of South Asia, traditional Islamist, Maulana Abu ala Maududi (1972) argues

that gender hierarchy based on the public-private distinction is prescribed by the religion; for example, the veil for women is important in some societies to symbolically hide women in the public space.

> The Islamist order placed women strictly within the home, endorsed purdah and idealized domesticity; the only training women were deemed fit for was to facilitate their predestined role as good housekeepers and mothers. (Kazi 1999: 8)

Faith "proffers models of hierarchal relationships and sexual inequality" (Mernissi 1996: 14). In the Muslim faith, female sexuality is considered active, powerful, and potentially dangerous, and in need of control lest it result in social disorder (ibid.). The institution of polygamy allows men's control of women while the institution of marriage reinforces men's control over female sexuality by "supplying a new set of sexual objects" (ibid.: 49). Control over female sexuality is a political decision as half of the population (the women) are made to "shut up and stay invisible" and thus be controlled (ibid.: xi). On the other hand, there is also a view that Islam is antipatriarchal (Barlas 2002; 2004; Wadud 2004). Barlas (2004: 3) argues that Islam neither proscribes a sexual division of labor nor attributes biologically oriented gender roles to men and women (ibid.: 4), but rather it is the patriarchal context of Muslim countries and the vested interest of men in the subjugation of women that is the root cause of inequality (Barlas 2002). Barlas (ibid.) argues, "We will be unable to change anything unless, as the Qur'an says, we begin by changing what is in our hearts and by opening them to the truth" (p. 210). The crux of her argument is that it is the patriarchal social system, not religion per se, that is the main cause of women's lack of autonomy in Muslim societies.

Jejeebhoy and Sathar (2001) found in their study of India and Pakistan that it was "regional social systems as opposed to religion" that were the main causal variables that influenced women's autonomy (ibid.: 687). Control over women involves political dimensions, as in Afghanistan, where the patriarchal social structures, the state, and the approach of international actors in one way or another contributed to the exclusion of women from the public spaces, rendering women second-class citizens in that country during the Taliban era.

> It was the status of an outsider, without legal rights and excluded from decision-making; the status of an object, on whom pronouncements were

> made and punishments inflicted; the status of a prisoner, confined to the home and darkened windows, or enveloped in an all-compassing tent-like veil, while men roamed freely, unencumbered by anything but their guns. In Afghanistan, the public-private distinction has been highly gendered in a most exaggerated way. (Moghadam 2002: 20)

The above discussion shows that women are controlled through all social institutions including family, marriage, religion, state, the right to property, inheritance, and even employment, which results in hierarchal gender relations with men exercising control over women. The production and reproduction of gender inequality as a social reality is the mediated effect of the interaction of agents with the social structures in which neither has primacy over the other but each affects the other (see Giddens 1979; 1984). Giddens (Giddens and Pierson 1998: 77) maintains, "Society only has form and that form only has effects on people in so far as structure is produced and reproduced in what people do." Practices are socially constructed and are a result of the repetition of human activity to the extent that it becomes a habit (Berger Peter and Luckmann 1966; Martin 2004). Thus the social context and the form a society takes as an ever-changing function of lasting layers of practices or institutions are the most persistent attributes of social life (Giddens 1979; Giddens and Pierson 1998).

Some Approaches to Break the Patriarchal Trap

If a mix of social factors interacted to form a trap that disempowered women, how could it be resolved? The debate and interventions have largely been centered either on improving the agency of women or on reforming the institutional structures. Empowerment, rights, justice, removal of institutional constraints, and accountability have all been discussed and implemented in practice. The social construction of gender itself implied that women need to have autonomy if gender equality is to be achieved. In the GAD approach, this resulted in empowerment approaches.

Empowerment through Credit Facilitation, not Justice

The focus of these approaches was empowerment of women through participatory projects (Richardson 1985; Due et al. 1990; Kabeer 2005b; Kilby 2011), which are still commonly used. The gender and development

empowerment projects since the mid-1980s have involved microcredit schemes and the like, which are an improvement on the income generation schemes employed previously as part of WAD approaches (Sen and Grown 1988). The Grameen Bank in Bangladesh, SEWA (Self Employed Women's Association), a women's trade union in India, the Mudzi fund in Malawi, and GABRIELA (General Assembly Binding Women for Reforms, Integrity, Equality, Leadership and Action) in the Philippines are seen by some as successful examples of empowerment projects (Richardson 1985; McKee 1989; Tendler 1989; Carr 1990; Due et al. 1990). Poor women are provided credit to develop their entrepreneurial capacity for projects as diverse as the operation of rice mills and schemes such as village mobiles (Abdullah 1985; Berger 1989; Bardhan 1990; Hulme 1990; Batliwala and Dhanraj 2007; Tibaijuka 2009). Such projects are an ongoing feature of empowerment approaches to gender and development (Kabeer 2005b; Kilby 2011). Through organization of self-help groups, NGOs seek to shore up support for strategic gender interests through a focus on practical needs (Kabeer 2005b). These projects result in women's increased mobility, improved credit rating, contribution to community betterment, and improvement in health and education (Kabeer 2005a; Batliwala and Dhanraj 2007; Batliwala 2010), and are seen as indications of women's empowerment (Mayoux 2000; Kabeer 2005b). But critics maintain that that these projects also marginalize women into private space and low-return occupations (Molyneux 1985; Goetz and Gupta 1996). The empowerment is by no means universal and the microcredit often is not directly related to it (Batliwala and Dhanraj 2004).

However, the GAD empowerment approach is limited. Projects often assume that women's access to "economic power and access to productive resources will weaken traditional gender and social roles and empower poor women to demand further change" (Batliwala and Dhanraj 2007: 22), and they assume that raising women's consciousness as a result of bottom-up participatory processes at the grassroots level will result in gender equality (Moser 1993: 76), that is, "members are responsible for their own empowerment" (Jakimow and Kilby 2006: 377). These projects, however, do not give attention to the rights-based entitlements of women (Goetz 2007; Kilby and Olivieri 2008: 328; O'Reilly 2010). Molyneux (2004: 115) argues that feminists have ignored the liberal rights-based approaches for two reasons: first, three decades of feminist activism saw issues of "bureaucratization, NGO-ization, technification" being dominant; and second, the theoretical

issue, in which the integration of women in institutions was central, did not fit well with the radical goals of second-wave feminism. Goetz (2007: 18) gives three reasons for adopting a gender justice approach as against a simple social justice approach:

1. Women as a common element of all socially disadvantaged groups are more disadvantaged than any of these social groups alone.
2. The power relations between men and women in the household and in the larger society result in injustices to women much more than any other social group. These relations need to be scrutinized.
3. The unequal patriarchal relations and mindsets often thought to belong to the household actually pervade all social, political, and economic institutions.

Others argue that rights are important but have been incorporated in development in an essentialist way that does not question institutional structures (Cornwall 2007: 71). Thus, rather than empowering women, these programs have become synonymous with "earning income to repay loans" (Batliwala and Dhanraj 2004: 12), and as such cannot by definition empower women (Kabeer 2005b; Jakimow and Kilby 2006). Their success, like that of other interventions such as quotas, depends on commitment, context, and capacity (Kabeer 2005b), and so in contexts where a commitment to gender equality is missing, such projects of empowerment become a tool to economically and politically exploit[15] women (Batliwala and Dhanraj 2004):

> Improve your household's economic condition, participate in local community development (if you have the time), help build and run local (apolitical) institutions like the self-help group; by then, you should have no political or physical energy left to challenge this paradigm. (p. 13)

Scholars argue that empowerment cannot be endowed but requires a commitment to the removal of structural constraints rather than a hope that disempowered women will empower themselves (Goetz 1997; Kabeer 1999; Kilby 2011). Institutional structures limit "the ability of women to pursue their interests" (Jakimow and Kilby 2006: 379) and they impinge upon the choices of women (Kabeer 1999; Kilby 2011). The denial of the ability to make choices is the basis of the disadvantage faced by women (Kabeer

1999) and it requires "the lifting of constraints, regardless of who undertakes the requisite action" (Jakimow and Kilby 2006: 378). These institutional structures influence the content, conditions, and implications of choice (Kabeer 1999), as well as defining the organizational culture (Goetz 2004: 137). In patriarchal organizational structures, individual women become "hedged about by the priorities of the organisation as a whole"[16] (Eisenstein 1991: 138). Without changing the structures, the integration of women merely results in their "assimilation" into an existing patriarchal organizational culture (Goetz 2004: 137). Patriarchal structures in institutions provide incentives to encourage conformity (ibid.). These may include "career advance, security, recognition." The risks associated with making choices to the contrary include unpopularity with coworkers and career setbacks (ibid.: 138–139). Thus the removal of what is disempowering is more important than a single focus on participation or access of the marginalized (Beall 1998; Jakimow and Kilby 2006; Kilby 2011).

However, in development practice, institutions are generally not accountable to the people they claim to empower (Kilby 2004; 2006; Harcourt 2010). Development institutions often see accountability largely as a measure of the proportion of internal project documents that mention gender equity in some context (ADB 2009a; ADB 2010). Through this lack of accountability to the constituencies, development institutions' claim to empower is put in doubt[17] (Kilby 2004; 2011). Kilby (2011: 89) in a study of NGOs in India found empowerment significantly related to the NGOs' accountability toward the subjects of empowerment. Many NGOs have a concept of accountability to their own values but not to the people they claim to empower (ibid.: 103). Organizations with "strong personal associations and formal feedback mechanisms" have been successful in empowerment (ibid.: 92), while informal processes of accountability merely established instrumental linkages with aid recipients. It was the "more structural (formal) links that delivered stronger empowerment outcomes" by creating rights and obligations that are central to empowerment (ibid.: 112). In the public sectors of developing countries with no structures of accountability for women's empowerment, the chances of women's empowerment are even bleaker.

Need for Institutional Reforms

While there is a role of development organizations to undertake "empowering actions" (Jakimow and Kilby 2006: 378), the institutional structures of

these organizations require reform to empower women (Eisenstein 1990; Goetz 1997; Marchbank 2000; Connell 2006). It is unrealistic to put the onus of empowerment entirely on those who are to be empowered (Kabeer 2001; Molyneux 2004; Kilby 2006; 2011). The powerlessness of women results from a range of structures such as

> law, civil codes, systems of property rights, labour codes, control over women's bodies and the social and legal institutions that underwrite male control and privilege. (Vijayamohanan, Asalatha, and Ponnuswamy 2009: 30)

Institutional policies are both the cause and effect of women's social exclusion and their powerlessness (Kabeer 2000; 2002). In this way, the GAD approach "stresses direct challenges to male cultural, social and economic privileges...it involves levelling the playing field, in other words, changing institutional rules" (Goetz 1997: 3).

The first step in the change in institutional structures was the political consensus reached at the Fourth World Conference on Women[18] held at Beijing in 1995 (UN 1995). The understanding was that institutional rules, norms, and practices determine individual rights and entitlements in terms of access to resources and the terms thereof (Raghuram and Manorama 1995: 2164; Bunch, Dutt, and Fried 1996; Kabeer 1997; Molyneux 2004; Batliwala 2007), but development practice in the past had done little to change institutional structures (Rathgeber 1990; Zwart 1992; Razavi and Miller 1995; Jahan 1996; Razavi 1997; Tiessen 2007). Development practice had sidestepped the critical issues of discrimination in these institutional structures and merely focused on gender and poverty (Kabeer 1997). The significant overlaps of family, community, market, and state in the construction of gender relations had been overlooked and so were institutional rules, practices, and power dynamics for their role in the production of gender inequality (Kabeer 1994). The conference urged,[19]

> Governments and other actors should promote an active and visible policy of mainstreaming a gender perspective in all policies and programmes, so that, before decisions are taken, an analysis is made of the effects on women and men, respectively. (UN 1996: 27)

For the feminists, the Beijing conference was a way to attain rights for women. In the lead-up to the conference, a list of rights necessary for gender equality was developed:

> Right to employment, regularisation of employment, minimum wages, maternity and paternity leave, right to association and collective bargaining, right to dignity, provision for safe and secure work environment, equal political representation at all levels, right to education, provision of constitutional guarantees and enactment of legislation to prohibit discrimination on the basis of sex and guaranteeing of full human rights to women throughout their life cycles, among others. (Raghuram and Manorama 1995: 2164)

Similarly, Molyneux (2004) argues that a gender-justice development framework should have been the key lesson of Beijing because

> human rights instruments have enabled women's movements to provide a normative and analytic framework for fighting against discrimination, reframing socioeconomic injustices against women as human rights violations. The examples of education, quota laws, violence against women, and health show how rights discourses can be deployed to legitimise women's demands for the improvement of their legal status, political representation and well being. (p. 115)

Although the concern was that the social, political, and economic rights of women can only be guaranteed through change in institutional structures (UN 1995), Batliwala (2007), while recognizing the importance of rights, points out four limitations of this approach:

1. Rights are easy to adopt in the shape of formal laws, but equally difficult to implement because of their neglect of rigid and hierarchical social power structures and ways to transform power relations. For example, the right to education exists in Indian law but its actual attainment is mediated by social institutions including family, caste, gender, and economic status.
2. Rights have become a rhetorical strategy for resource mobilization from donors, who accept proposals written in a language of rights and

reject other practical empowerment strategies devoid of the language of rights.

3. The language of rights when translated into local syntax (right as *haq*), especially in feudal societies, could invite oppression by the socially powerful, including the state, because of its focus on claims. In more feudal or traditional contexts, women prefer negotiation and consensus building to selecting politically loaded words such as "rights." They tend to frame the issue in contextually neutral words such as "making men realize their responsibility."
4. Rights-based development approaches relocate agency to development intermediaries such as NGOs and bureaucrats whose accountability to the marginalized is questionable. These external actors interpret rights for women, not the marginalized and powerless women themselves.

The post-Beijing developments and the application of the concept of gender mainstreaming, as discussed below, show that the rights of women and the goal of social transformation through changes in institutional structures have been misappropriated in much development practice and avoided in most policy processes.

Conclusion

The three shifts in development practice from WID to WAD and then to GAD reflect how the focus in development discourse slowly shifted from women to institutional structures as the cause of gender inequality. This evolution of development thought suggested that indeed lack of participation and limited access to resources were important contributors to gender inequality in the labor market, but more than the causes they must be seen as the effects of a deeper problem of institutional structures, which forms the basis of unequal gender relations. For these reasons, WID and WAD intervention did not, as these could not, result in transformation of social relations. The GAD approaches correctly attributed the problem of gender inequality in the labor market to patriarchal institutional structures. However, in much of development practice, GAD approach has been misappropriated by interventions such as provision of finances for empowerment and gender justice for not addressing the issues of accountability of development institutions and the constraints these institutions put on the agency of

women. In a nutshell, practiced in a rather apolitical and decontextualized fashion, these interventions mellow down the transformative potential of the GAD approach.

How this approach, despite the correct diagnosis of the problem, was misappropriated in the development practice in the developing countries through the use of gender sensitivity training as the main vehicle for incorporating gender in development work merits special attention and is the subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER 3

From Gender Mainstreaming to Training

The aim of gender mainstreaming is the transformation of unequal gender relations. It is considered to be an outcome of the lessons drawn from three decades of development practice. In development theory, recognized as a GAD approach, it came to be known both independent as well as sometimes dependent on WID and WAD approaches. In development practice gender sensitivity training became the main vehicle for incorporating gender analysis in much of the development work. Gender sensitivity trainings, however, became fast spreading fashion, and devoid of the understanding of sociocultural contexts of the developing nations did not achieve the objective of transformation in unequal gender relations. Below, I will describe the concept of mainstreaming and how training became the main vehicle for incorporating gender in development work. And why despite much efforts and resources it remains an unsatisfactory solution.

Mainstreaming as a Concept

GAD approach has mainstreaming as its "institutionally palatable version" (True 2010: 191), as it embraces the GAD ideals of social transformation (Woodford-Berger 2004; Benschop and Verloo 2006; Eyben 2010) and is grounded in feminist discourse, international forums, and development projects and practices (UN 1995; COE 1998; True and Mintrom 2001; Hafner-Burton and Pollack 2002; Woodward 2003; Walby 2005). It is

seen as "an accumulation of learning over some three decades about gender inequality and the best policy to address it" (Daly 2005: 442). To highlight the transformative potential of gender mainstreaming, scholars distinguish it from the equal opportunity approach of the 1970s and the affirmative action approach of the 1980s (Beveridge and Nott 2002). While WID and WAD were labeled as tinkering around the edges of the issue of inequality, gender mainstreaming was seen as transforming (Rees 1998; 2002; Squires 2005: 369). Whereas WID and WAD prioritize inclusion of women in institutions, the GAD concept of gender mainstreaming focuses on the transformation of institutions through the displacement of gender policies to address inequality (Squires 2005; Walby 2005; Lombardo and Verloo 2009). The UNECOSOC report to the UN General Assembly (1997) elaborates[1] the concept of gender mainstreaming:

> Mainstreaming a gender perspective is the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes, in all areas and at all levels. It is a strategy for making women's as well as men's concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political, economic and societal spheres so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality. (p. 24)

The concept of gender mainstreaming has a global currency (UN 1995; Verloo 2001; Rees 2002; Verloo et al. 2009), and has been described as the best example of the global diffusion of policies[2] that are framed at international conferences (True and Mintrom 2001; True 2010). Mainstreaming has been embraced in the global North, for example, in the European Union (Rubery 2002; 2003; 2004; Rubery, Grimshaw et al. 2003; 2004; Rubery, Figueiredo et al. 2004; Rubery, Grimshaw, and Figueiredo 2005), and in the global South (True 2003; Standing 2004; Dawson 2005; Mukhopadhyay 2007a; 2007b; Tiessen 2007). To some its rapid spread owes much to the development agencies' existing frameworks of "analytical, institutional and financial assistance" (Moser 2005: 576) but in practice in most places its implementation has not gone much beyond lip service.

The concept of gender mainstreaming is rather "fuzzy" (Daly 2005: 445) and since the launch of this GAD strategy there has been a "considerable

confusion[3] about what these strategies [of gender mainstreaming] involve and how best to pursue them" (Schalkwyk, Thomas, and Woroniuk 1996: 1; see also Beall 1998; Hannan 2001; Booth and Bennett 2002; Howard 2002; Rees 2002; Woodward 2003; Daly 2005). There are many meanings of the concept and it is understood as an instrument, an innovation, a technical tool, an approach, a principle of equality, and a strategy of transformation in gender relations (Verloo 2001; Woodward 2003; Stratigaki 2005; Walby 2005; Benschop and Verloo 2006). Arguably, its status of both an "open signifier" and an "empty signifier," that is open to interpretation, has rendered it a contested concept and so to some extent useless (Lombardo 2003; Verloo 2005; Walby 2005; Lombardo and Meier 2006; Pfister 2008). For feminists the key concern was how a rather fluid concept of gender mainstreaming could be used to achieve the goal of social transformation (Beveridge and Nott 2002; Woodford-Berger 2004; Benschop and Verloo 2006; Tiessen 2007; Verloo et al. 2009).

Scholars argue that the transformative potential of gender mainstreaming could be achieved if, rather than distancing, it embraced the previous WID and WAD strategies of participation and access through specific affirmative action, but also went beyond[4] them to challenge the institutional structures that cause inequality (Booth and Bennett 2002; Woodward 2003; Hankivsky 2005: 13; Walby 2005: 326; Prügl 2006: 434). Taking into account the sociopolitical context for setting the gender mainstreaming agenda for social transformation as a key concern (Jahan 1996; Mukhopadhyay 2007b), the transformative potential of gender mainstreaming would depend on how closely the practice of gender mainstreaming adhered to the feminists' vision of equality (Mukhopadhyay 2007b; Eyben 2010). There was a view that gender mainstreaming must be seen as a process to change gendered policy routines in institutions (Verloo 2005; Walby 2005; Lombardo and Meier 2006); that policies that had hitherto escaped critical scrutiny should become the object of change (COE 1998; Beveridge and Nott 2002; Daly 2005; Verloo 2005); and that the "actors normally involved in policy making" must be engaged for transformation in gender relations (Verloo 2005: 350).

This approach to a focus on bureaucratic actors as agents of change for social transformation originated in the global North but over time, through the Northern development institutions, it became widespread in the developing countries as well (Woodford-Berger 2004; Lombardo

2005: 416; Moser 2005: 577; Verloo 2005: 350; Lombardo and Meier 2006; Mukhopadhyay 2007b). The development agencies' assumptions that policies in a developing country were made by the bureaucrats led to the gender training of bureaucrats becoming a key GAD gender mainstreaming approach for sensitizing bureaucrats so they could change policies for achieving gender equality (Woodford-Berger 2004; Abou-Habib 2007; Mukhopadhyay 2007b; Tiessen 2007).

Training as an Approach

Gender training[5] in the past decade has been the "most common" measure to implement a gender mainstreaming strategy (Woodford-Berger 2004). It relates both to liberal feminism as well as to mainstream development practice. Theoretically, it is rooted in the liberal feminist view that adult-age discrimination results from differential learning in childhood and thus can be unlearned through the gender-sensitive resocialization of individuals (Eagleton 2003; Pini 2008: 10). This assumption of a resocialization takes the form, in work organizations, of the gender sensitization training of bureaucrats (Kusakabe 2005; Abou-Habib 2007; Ahikire 2007; Dasgupta 2007). It is also embedded in the liberal assumption that the drive for gender equality being a common task, gender inequality is a function of bureaucrats' lack of awareness (Kusakabe 2005). Training would enhance a feminist understanding of the problem of gender inequality by institutional policy makers, who would then eagerly mobilize resources to tackle inequality (Woodford-Berger 2004). Training would thus result in "shifts in organisational cultures and ways of thinking" (Bhatta 2001: 23).

As a development practice, gender training goes back to the United Nations Decade for Women (1975–85), which raised the alarm about discrimination against women and required state and nonstate development institutions to raise awareness about the issue (Dasgupta 2007: 28). It got further attention from development agencies due to the gender mainstreaming strategy adopted at the Fourth World Conference on Women in 1995 (Schalkwyk, Thomas, and Woroniuk 1996; Ahikire 2007: 39). Development agencies had envisaged institutional change[6] as a trigger for broader social transformation (Schalkwyk, Thomas, and Woroniuk 1996). Gender awareness was considered instrumental in achieving institutional change (Schalkwyk, Thomas, and Woroniuk 1996; Woroniuk, Thomas, and Schalkwyk 1996; Schalkwyk 1998), and it was believed that training

would change the "patriarchal mindsets" of individuals in organizations (Abou-Habib 2007: 48; Ahikire 2007: 39). It created a demand for mainstreaming tools, expertise, and knowledge resources to be made available to the bureaucrats for mainstreaming in developing countries (Woodward 2003; Mukhopadhyay 2004; Walby 2005).

Knowledge as a Tool

In 1996, in a follow-up to the Beijing women's conference, Commonwealth ministers assigned the production of gender-equality knowledge resources to the Commonwealth Secretariat, which developed a prescriptive Gender Management System (Commonwealth Secretariat 1999a). A series of reference manuals and quick guides for specific sectors followed such as Development Planning; Finance; Education; Public Service; Trade and Industry; Agriculture and Rural Development; Information and Communications; and Equal Employment Opportunities. These guides for mainstreaming gender were published to educate bureaucrats (Commonwealth Secretariat 1999b; 2001; Leo-Rhynie 1999; O'Regan-Tardu 1999; Sen 1999; Taylor 1999; Frankson 2000); they had a standard format and aimed at the sensitization of policy makers through clarifying the key concepts. For example, these guides attempted to make it clear that women could work in nontraditional sectors, that sex and gender were different, and that gender roles are shaped by a host of sociopolitical and economic factors such as age, class, religion, and politics (Commonwealth Secretariat 1999b; 2001; Leo-Rhynie 1999; O'Regan-Tardu 1999; Sen 1999; Taylor 1999; Frankson 2000).

This strategy for the creation of awareness was meant to counter the gendered social knowledge that for a long time used women's biology as the cause of inequality. John Stuart Mill's *The Subjection of Women* (1869) attributed women's failings in society to their relative weakness compared to men; and Maccoby and Jacklin (1974: 374) argued that "a variety of social institutions are viable within the framework set by biology"; and finally, Goldberg (1993) argued that men rule due to their psychology, which allows them to protect women. Feminists have long been critical of the way gendered knowledge surreptitiously made its way into academia. For example, Connell (2002: 31) argues, "Sociobiological ideas about innate difference are often presented[7] as the scientific 'truth' about gender, which feminists deny and which societies violate at their

peril." Foucault (1977) argues that discursive knowledge is used to categorize people, and these categories are then used to discipline and police society, and that these can be extended to family, religion, and the state more broadly. The social consequences of these approaches can be seen as follows:

> Bodies have been watched and controlled in finer and finer detail; as "power-knowledge" became more sophisticated, the professions that apply it become larger and more numerous and the institutions in which it operates such as factories, prisons and schools, extended their grip on Western societies. (Connell 2002: 37)

From this perspective, for development feminists, the success of gender mainstreaming strategies including training depended on the extent to which they had acted to counter these "discursive regimes" (Verloo et al. 2009: 10), or whether in fact they could counter these discursive regimes. In short, there seemed to be a naive assumption that newly created knowledge, once used for gender awareness and understanding, would displace socially created gendered knowledge,[8] which would then transform the existing gendered ways of doing things (Zaleski 2010). However, while true in diagnosis, in practice the overall orientation of these frameworks was toward gender roles rather than unequal power relations and toward gender orders, which formed the basis of unequal gender relations (Woodford-Berger 2004).

Knowledge Transfer Sessions

Gender training is built on the belief that knowledge is a "commodity" that can be transferred in a rather linear fashion (Mukhopadhyay and Wong 2007: 23), and to achieve this end, relatively short training courses of one or two days are sufficient. It is believed that short training courses for busy people maximize the chances of replication and knowledge transfer to lower-level officials (Dasgupta 2007: 29), while reducing the cost of the courses. It also suits trainers who do not have to make special preparation and can easily accommodate small courses (Ahikire 2007).

A typical training course may comprise many sessions that take up the issues of inequality faced by women. In Pakistan, the training imparted to the public sector lasted from two days to a week. Short courses were offered

to senior officers and weeklong courses to middle- and senior-management levels. The training manuals compiled for the trainers included the details of the training sessions and what was to be imparted to the trainees. The training begins with an introductory session aimed to build rapport between trainees and trainers as well as among trainees, who come from diverse public sector departments. The first formal session includes brainstorming on gender roles and issues, and the trainees are informed that gender roles are socially created, differ across cultures, and are thus changeable. The essential messages of this session are that the reproductive-productive divide is arbitrary and women face social and economic constraints. The participants are then sensitized through exercises to examine how in their workplaces ideas about traditional gender roles affect their decisions that affect women. The second session covers issues of the low participation of women in the productive sector, wage differentials, and the problems faced by women in access to credit. The third session is around the issue of public policy and gender sensitization, and aims to encourage trainees to think that gender and economic growth are complementary, but that women face constraints in pursuing economic activities, which impact on the household and national productivity. In the fourth session, participants are divided into groups to work on the development of qualitative and quantitative indicators for project appraisal, and in the fifth session they are asked to present the indicators to the whole group. The sixth and seventh sessions relate to the project appraisal exercise and presentations to the whole group. These sessions assume that all the trainees deal with project development at their workplaces and they would be in a position to raise objections to proposed projects that fail to incorporate gender concerns. In the exercises, the trainees and the trainers decide whether the group was able to address gender concerns in the mock projects. The last session includes feedback from the trainees and the gender training course concludes with some high-level government official presenting certificates of completion of gender training sensitization sessions to the trainees.

This training aims to effect changes in attitudes, which would then lead to behavioral change, but no attempt is made to look at institutional constraints in the form of policies and frameworks that compel public sector employees to work within them. Similarly, it is not established that behavioral change is a result of changes in attitudes.[9] Some social psychologists have started to look at the conditions and situations that mediate the attitude-behavior relationship (Fazio 1990; Ajzen 2005). The commonly

identified moderating variables are situational factors such as normative constraints, the extent of moral reasoning, the realization of the implications of action, and the self-interests of individuals (Fazio 1990; Ajzen 2005). Some argue that "the link between self-interest and behavior is stronger than that between self-interest and attitude" (Ratner and Miller 2001: 6), suggesting that a change in attitude through training may not result in a change in behavior. Miller (2001) argues that the norm of self-interest predicts behavior better than people's attitudes.

> It induces people to act publicly in ways that maximize their material interests, whether or not they are so inclined privately. This norm, like most other norms, reflects both a descriptive belief (people are self-interested) and a prescriptive belief (people ought to be self-interested). Either of these beliefs is sufficient to induce the layperson to act more in line with self-interest than he or she might personally be inclined to do. (p. 199)

However, despite these reservations, national development agencies continue to emphasize gender training, and as resources mostly come from international donors, they provide expert knowledge on the issue of gender equality and exercise considerable influence on the process, but often with little knowledge of local context or mores (Abou-Habib 2007: 48). Development agencies encourage liberal feminist views but also ensure that radical views on the structural basis of gender inequality are not reflected in the gender training sessions. A typical training invitation from the donors is tagged with the friendly advice, "Please do not bring in issues of feminism. That will cause confusion especially among the men. We only want gender" (Ahikire 2007: 41). Trainers are directed by the development agencies to translate loaded GAD radical feminist political language into a neutral liberal development lexicon that would not offend senior officials (ibid.: 34). The trainers are also cautious and do not want to be labeled as outsiders and Westerners with possible radical designs on the local culture (Currie and Vernooy 2010: 6). Trainers thus avoid the contentious issues of gender power relations and women's concerns, which if articulated might create a demand for change in the status quo (Ahikire 2007; Dasgupta 2007). Dasgupta and Ahikire argue that gender is reduced to the basic information that gender is about men and women (Ahikire 2007; Dasgupta 2007), rather than about power and possibly patriarchy. Senior bureaucrats, rather than having real

concerns for social transformation, are "lured" by financial allowances, hospitality, and time out of the office (Dasgupta 2007: 34). The power to interpret knowledge remains with the trainers, not the trainees, and gender relations remain locked in unequal power relations, so that marginalized women remain voiceless and powerless (Ahikire 2007; Dasgupta 2007).

Nevertheless, the proper assessment of knowledge transfer and its linkage with institutional change as assumed in the development practice of gender mainstreaming has not been evaluated due to the presence of many variables such as sex, the position of government officials, and the training methods (Mathur and Rajan 1997), and so the need for a proper impact assessment of gender mainstreaming is felt even more (Moser and Moser 2005; Verloo et al. 2009). In the absence of proper assessment, some scholars believe that despite an overemphasis on knowledge development, agencies and gender trainees may have similar knowledge[10] and, given the ownership, the latter may know how to effect change and devise sustainable projects (Howard 2002). Others believe the actual knowledge and its impact on institutional transformation to be "limited and very modest" (Abou-Habib 2007: 48). On the positive side, it is believed gender training results in gender terminology are being embraced by organizational members (Moser 2005; Ahikire 2007; Zaleski 2010). There is also some evidence that trainees start to question the "patterns and roles of men and women within institutions" (Mathur and Rajan 1997: 73). In some countries such as Uganda, these approaches are believed to have put "patriarchal norms and values under relative stress" (Ahikire 2007: 39). But on the negative side, male bias and resistance to change in gender relations continues to persist (Mathur and Rajan 1997: 73). Female trainers are opposed by male trainees as "feminists" (ibid.: 74). Training often results in "anxiety" caused by the "institutional patterns that have favoured mostly men and have not been sensitive to women's needs" (ibid.). More sympathetic trainees (men) in training sessions often claim that they are "willing to empower women" and often these statements are followed by the word "but" to show they do not want to relinquish the power and privilege offered by the existing arrangements (Ahikire 2007: 44). Training as such neither results in a challenge to gendered knowledge nor makes the ownership of new knowledge possible (Mukhopadhyay and Wong 2007), let alone changing attitudes and behavior. Even after years of training, the state's commitment to gender equality is still not forthcoming (Abou-Habib 2007), suggesting that knowledge transfer may not achieve the changes in attitudes and behavior necessary for

the transformative goal of gender mainstreaming (Moser 2005). This points to the need for change in institutional structures to achieve progress toward gender equality, as Mathur and Rajan (1997) suggest,

> in the context of government functionaries, gender training projects are a necessary but not sufficient input for mainstreaming gender. They must necessarily be backed by policies and procedures for the implementation of pro-women initiatives in practice. (p. 74)

The challenge is how to undertake the necessary changes in attitudes and behavior required to drive this change.

Training: Missing Sociopolitical Context

The GAD approach of training does not reflect the "complexity of gender relations in specific contexts" (Charlesworth and Smith 2005: 18; Mukhopadhyay and Wong 2007). Training does not take into account that transformation in unequal power relations, the distribution of resources control mechanisms, and gendered knowledge, rules, hierarchies, and practices are essentially a political endeavor, and while, at best, training will change attitudes it will not change behavior (Dasgupta 2007: 29). Training ignores that for change to occur development practice needs to attend to "the messy business of creating voice, articulating demand, carving out rights, insisting on participation and mobilising the women's constituencies to demand accountability" (Mukhopadhyay 2007b: 146). However, gender training has remained separate to the rights-based discourse articulated by feminists (Bhatta 2001; Goetz 2004; Mukhopadhyay 2007a; 2007b) and has allowed "difficult questions [of unequal power relations] to be passed over" (Beveridge and Nott 2002: 309). It remains aloof from the structural constraints, the inequitable patriarchal gender relations caused by centuries of use of force and ideology for the submission of women to men that disadvantages women (Dasgupta 2007: 29). While training may focus on gender, it in fact epitomizes the feminism-development disconnect (Abou-Habib 2007; Ahikire 2007; Dasgupta 2007).

While feminism is a highly political project seeking a transformation in gender relations (Kothari 2005; Ahikire 2007; Meer 2007), development agencies implement gender training for its "tangibility and

procedurability" (Woodford-Berger 2004: 66), rather than for transformation and change as such. Training thus becomes a display, rather than a norm changer, and is implemented to show that much is being done to achieve gender equality (Ahikire 2007: 45).Training generally employs "an archetypal gender training curriculum" including conceptual distinctions on sex and gender, gender roles, needs and issues of access, control, and empowerment (ibid.: 39). This serves to reinforce some of the stereotypical relations of men and women, and it universalizes women as a category, leaves out the intersectionality of gender and ethnicity, class and religion, and still leaves gender power relations unaltered (Mukhopadhyay and Wong 2007: 20). Kothari (2005: 32) argues that "an increasing technocratic and tool-kit approach to development has exacerbated the depoliticisation of development and the atheoretical perspective of much development discourse." This has sabotaged the political project of gender equality (Dasgupta 2007) and as a shallow focus on definitional distinctions and not on activism, it strips gender vocabulary of its "political and historical significance" (Ahikire 2007: 42).

The depoliticization of training has also made itself a field of its own and "a highly sought after expertise" in development (Abou-Habib 2007: 49; Ahikire 2007: 41). This "lucrative field" of experts is isolated from the feminist political agenda of change (Ahikire 2007: 42) and the trainers are often not linked with "women's rights," often do not have "strong grassroots linkages," and often pursue "a personal agenda" for change (Abou-Habib 2007: 50). Abou-Habib (ibid.: 52) in the context of the Middle Eastern region describes the following weaknesses of donor-driven gender training:

1. Use of external sources of knowledge in the training material
2. One-size-fits-all approach
3. A lack of consideration for local knowledge, experience, activism, and trainers
4. The overuse of religious frameworks to show compatibility of gender with Islam
5. The lack of linkages with other development processes, policies, organizational procedures, and interventions
6. A focus on efficiency with consideration of both money and time, which may result in deprioritizing, gender being cost ineffective

Similarly, Dasgupta[11] (2007) in the case of northern India points to the inability of training to effect change:

> Three days to review a whole lifetime of conditioning, to build up the courage to challenge norms and to change institutional practice . . . [prove] inadequate to create a shift in critical thinking regarding social relations and provide the support to move changes in resource distribution, hierarchies, rules and practices. (p. 34)

Given these concerns, the extent to which training can be beneficial depends on how much it focuses on gender equality as a political project with an emphasis on empowerment and rights, rather than equality as a technical endeavor (Abou-Habib 2007: 52). This can happen if gender training is reoriented to use gender as

> a conceptual framework for understanding issues of power and rights, and for promoting equalities based on a commitment to the rights of women and men in all aspects of their lives. (ibid.)

Some maintain that participatory training methods[12] have the potential to enhance the skills of the trainees but even this type of training is “obviously not enough to lead the men staff to change their practice in a situation of conflicting interests” (Dasgupta 2007: 34). This can only be done by reaffirming gender equality as a political agenda not a technical quick fix (Abou-Habib 2007; Ahikire 2007; Dasgupta 2007).

Training: Missing Organizational Context

Gender training is often implemented with little regard to the gendered organizational context from which the people being trained emerge. GAD scholars have long established organizations as gendered entities (Goetz 1997; 2008) and so the need for change in organizational policies, practices, and procedures has also been prioritized as an objective of gender mainstreaming. However, gender mainstreaming through training assumes a link between training and the behavior and actions of bureaucrats. The view shared by liberal feminists and mainstream development practice is that gender inequality is a common problem and requires a common response from “well meaning but not-at-all-oriented development bureaucrats” as

well as from feminist development consultants (Woodford-Berger 2004: 70; Mukhopadhyay 2004; 2007b). This liberal emphasis on gender equality as the joint enterprise and "virtuous behavior" of bureaucrats is problematic because it does not take into account the issues of institutional and cultural resistance, the politics of interest and privilege, and the absence of a gender equality goal in organizational mandates (Woodford-Berger 2004; Mukhopadhyay 2007b; Tiessen 2007). "Gender mainstreaming exists more or less independently of international politics, power hierarchies and persistent ideas about human nature" (Woodford-Berger 2004: 65). As a result, trainees return to work in the same rigid hierarchical organizations with plenty of embedded gendered norms, and so the training is largely wasted and transformation is impossible (Dasgupta 2007: 34).

There is a view that development organizations even willfully adopt liberal frameworks as they are "amenable to their institutional cultures" (Woodward 2003: 67); that is, development agencies work as a "covert patriarchy" and the implementation of a power-neutral training framework "enables the subversion of those policies and directives which threatens covert patriarchal interests" (Longwe 1997: 151). Mukhopadhyay (2007b) argues that the gender equality agenda pursued by the development agencies often means "getting rid of the focus on women" (p. 139). This was based on her experience of being involved in a project funded by the Royal Netherland Embassy (RNE) in Yemen to build the capacity of the Rural Women's General Directorate (RWGD) of the Ministry of Agriculture to advance the interest of women farmers. RNE spent money and rolled out the project to build the capacity of male extension workers in a country where male extension workers could not approach women and where women in the public sector were considered "illegitimate occupants" (Mukhopadhyay 2007b: 140). Traditionally the directorates had considered men to be the farmers, ignoring women's contribution and only taking care of men's interests. She found that at the RNE the project remained a rolling stone as its responsibility often shifted between two sections of the embassy—WAD and Agriculture and Rural Development. The WAD sector wanted to mainstream gender perspectives in agriculture policies that addressed women's concerns. But in the negotiations between RNE and the Ministry of Agriculture for further support, the RWGD was not given any importance and the project was axed by maintaining that the focus was on gender not women and that gender had been mainstreamed.

There is also evidence that women in institutions serve patriarchal institutional norms by opposing the entry of women aspiring to join development institutions. For example, Mukhopadhyay (2007b: 141) conducted a workshop on gender mainstreaming in a large human rights organization in Cambodia, in which the male director made it clear that for him gender mainstreaming was about more women in organizations, and he informed the participants that he had set the target of 30 percent women in the organization. He faced resistance from a woman member who thought that employing more women meant lowering organizational standards, and other workshop participants agreed. They blamed the adoption of a gender policy and the employment of less-qualified women for the poor performance of the NGO some two years after, but could not say how this had happened.

There is also an issue of a lack of fit between the gender issues raised in training sessions and the specific work undertaken by the bureaucrats. Howard (2002), for instance, found that the majority of Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) (mostly male) officials six months after training felt there was no connection between gender issues and their work and "training was too 'generic' to address the wide range of activities, processes, and subject areas that were represented within the organization" (p. 169). The lack of follow-up training also added to the feelings of a lack of relevance. This analysis, despite mentioning the activities and subject areas of organizations, still puts the onus of failure on the nonspecificity of training, not on the organizational mandate. Similarly, it supports the liberal view that gender training could challenge assumptions in the training process. Contrary to the popular perception of organizational resistance, Howard found men frequently discussing equity, equality, and power relations, leading her to conclude that resistance was less common then assumed. True to the liberal view, the study proposed a focus on the opportunities rather than on the institutional, cultural, and psychological impediments to change within the FAO.

The lack of fit between gender training and the later activities of bureaucrats has also been a key finding in another study that examined government officials in a different setting (Kusakabe 2005). In government offices of the Greater Mekong Subregion (including Thailand, Cambodia, and Laos), Kusakabe found an apparent disconnect between gender mainstreaming training and the later activities of the bureaucrats. The gender-trained bureaucrats had no idea of the activities they would

be pursuing in the workplace and so the training enhanced awareness but still remained a meaningless activity for participants. Kusakabe suggested that the focus of gender mainstreaming must be reoriented to cover routine activities such as the visits of the project staff to the intended beneficiaries and the like. Such a process would enable the staff to understand the needs of beneficiaries and help create an enabling environment for gender mainstreaming. Similarly, the study identified lack of political commitment by the organizations and vagueness as to what gender mainstreaming meant as the key factors that determined its lack of effectiveness.

In more relevant studies conducted in the context of NGOs, the problem of organizational arrangements has been identified as a problem in the implementation of gender mainstreaming. Elsa Dawson (2005), in the context of Oxfam Great Britain in 2001–2, identified the twin problem of the lack of integration of gender equality goals with organizational systems and the lack of accountability of bureaucrats toward these goals. To her no amount of gender training would "convince staff to mainstream gender if achieving gender equality is not a clear goal set out in their strategic plan" (ibid.: 88). This has also been the finding of the situational analysis conducted by Mukhopadhyay (2004) in the Ethiopian ministries, in which she found that the Ministry of Education[13] was outperforming the Ministry of Agriculture on gender mainstreaming, because gender equality was part of the mandate of the former and not the latter.

Similarly, Tiessen (2007) in her study of NGOs in Malawi observed that even though NGOs used a number of initiatives such as training, awareness raising through workshops, redesigning of policies, and ensuring more representation of women, these initiatives were not leading to institutional change, due to "gendered norms, attitudes and practices of individuals" (ibid.: 16) in the family and in society more broadly. Tiessen concluded that the prevailing organizational arrangements were a significant barrier to institutional change, as they maintained the status quo and "the privileging of male interests over female interests" (ibid.). Tiessen suggested that gender inequality needs to be tackled within the development agencies as much as it needs to be tackled in client communities.

The above review of the literature shows that gender training has been presumed to be a solution for gender inequality in its own right, but the findings of scholars indicate an apparent disconnect between training, the activities of employees, and agency mandates.

Conclusion

GAD approach of gender sensitivity trainings do not yield much but often the solution to the apparent failure of training is seen as more training; no efforts are made to understand the institutional constraints in the way of gender equality. The taken for granted belief that training will result in the transformation of unequal gender relations, glosses over the issues of women's representation in institutions, their access to resources, and the effect of institutional policies in promoting or resisting progress toward gender equality. Gender training has become the be all and end all of much of development practice in the name of GAD approach, in the developing nations.

The next chapter presents the case of Pakistan and argues that, in the absence of specific institutional policies, gender training has assumed the status of a de facto policy to tackle gender inequality in the public sector of Pakistan. This has glossed over the issues of women's nominal representation in the public sector, their limited access to resources, and the negative effect of institutional policies that for decades held back progress toward gender equality.

CHAPTER 4

Patriarchal Pakistan: Women's Representation, Access to Resources, and Institutional Practices

Introduction

Pakistani society is strongly patriarchal in the way that women's positions are mediated by *zar* (wealth), and *zamin* (land), and in the way that the degree of men's honor depends on the possession and control of wealth, women, and land (*zar*, *zan*, *zamin*) (Haeri 2002: 36). Development policies that prioritize women's integration and representation in institutions (WID), women's access to resources (WAD), and transformation in institutional policies (GAD) have seldom been practiced in the public sector of Pakistan. As to the issue of the representation of women in the public sector, the chapter points out that while women work in all sectors of the economy, their representation in the public sector is abysmally low. This poor representation is despite constitutional and international guarantees, the recommendations of development agencies, and commissions set up by the state of Pakistan to look at the issue. It is due in part to the lack of a comprehensive government policy and program on the equitable representation of women in public sector organizations. Similar to many other developing nations affirmative action programs in Pakistan focus on ethnic and income inequalities rather than gender inequalities as such. This point has not received sufficient attention from researchers and academics, who invariably focus on the representation of women in political institutions. This chapter attempts to bridge the gap

by drawing parallels between the policies of representation in the political and public sector organizations to form the basis of research in the latter.

Similarly, as to the issue of women's access to resources, which many feminists consider the main reason of gender inequality (England and Folbre 2005; Acker 2009; Kabeer 2009), there seems to be hardly any academic literature with reference to the public sector in developing countries. This chapter draws on the more general literature that has discussed the issue of women's access to resources to form the basis of further research on this important issue in the context of the public sector of Pakistan. This highlights the point that women in the public sector face a basic issue of access to social, legal, material, and institutional resources. Lack of access to these resources and other resources such as childcare, accommodation, and transport contributes to work-life imbalances and puts a disproportionately higher burden on working women compared to working men. The chapter also highlights the point that lack of access to resources for women begins at birth in the form of the preferences for sons through to the demand for and supply of education and employment, in all of which women are discriminated against due to the functioning of the state, the family, and the society, which is patriarchal. Rather than being a driver of change through the equitable provision of resources to women, the public sector of Pakistan has been a preserver of the cultural values and traditions that form the basis of the structural disadvantage for women, with policies that deny the objective of gender equality.

The rules of the public sector that define the role of government employees in Pakistan do not mention gender equality or how that may be achieved. State social policies have a history of orthodoxy and political expediency, the continued practice of which has had grave social consequences for Pakistani women (Rashid 2009). It has not only lowered the status of women as citizens of the state but has also resulted in social violence against them in the form of rape, battering, and the denial of access to economic opportunities. Although the effects of state policies and the betrayal of institutions to women in society have been well researched, in the case of Pakistan there is a dearth of research on institutional polices on gender equality in the public sector.

The response of development agencies, with a notional commitment to gender equality, has been mixed. For example, the World Bank has prioritized the provision of education to both boys and girls (World Bank 2005) but has not focused on a change in public sector policies. The ADB

has found that the uneducated women in Pakistan form the bulk of the informal sector of the labor force but there are structural barriers in terms of lack of government policies for the recruitment of educated women in the public sector (ADB 2008). However, while the ADB supports the policy of equitable representation of women in the public sector (ADB 2009b), it has not looked at the issue of access to resources, policies on organizational mandates, and other issues such as sexual harassment, which are necessary to make progress toward the elimination of gender inequality in the public sector.

While these issues have been largely ignored in academic research, reports commissioned by the government of Pakistan and the development strategies of the donor agencies have led to a surge in the collective focus of donor agencies on imparting gender training to public sector employees as a solution to the issue of gender inequality in the public sector of Pakistan.[1] As gender training in the public sector of Pakistan has assumed a de facto policy status, the question arises as to whether training relates to the key issues of representation, access to resources, and institutional practices. The following sections review the available literature about each issue in the context of Pakistan.

Women's Representation

Equality of opportunities and the equitable representation of women have been central to the social theories of gender inequality in the labor market. The first steps for the equitable representation of women in Pakistan were taken in the 1973 Constitution[2] of Pakistan[3] (GOP 1973b; Munir 1976; Weiss 1986; Raza 1997). This has also been the core principle of the WID approach that was formalized at the Mexico Conference in which Pakistan was one of the 133 participating states (UN 1976: 120). Despite this, the representation of women in the public sector remains abysmally low, with women constituting less than 5 percent of the public sector of Pakistan (GOP 1998; 2003; 2006b). The representation of women in the senior decision-making positions in the public sector is negligible (GOP 1998: 43; Weiss 2003). The majority of women in the public sector are concentrated in traditionally female-dominated professions such as education and health care and women have rarely held senior positions (GOP 1998; 2003). In the male-dominated public sector organizations such as Agriculture, Planning and Development, Economic Affairs and Industries,

women's representation is negligible (GOP 2003). The "Inquiry Report on Status of Women Employment in Public Sector Organizations" sums up the situation of representation of women as follows (GOP 2003):

> Pakistan is characterized by a virtual absence of women at effective policy making and administrative levels. It appears that there is a deliberate effort to detract them from becoming administrators or managers. (p. 7)

As an example, the table 4.1 highlights the low representation of women at the higher end[4] of the public sector organizations in the federal government of Pakistan.

The table 4.1 illustrates that women are minimally present[5] in all organizational positions but their absence at the executive levels is significant. At the senior- and middle-management levels, the seemingly greater representation of women actually involves a count of women in the education and health professions, with very few women in other organizations such as Agriculture, Industries, and Finance, as illustrated in table 4.2.

The table 4.2 illustrates that women's representation in organizations such as Agriculture is abysmal, compared to their representation in education and health-related public sector organizations. There are hardly any women at the executive-management levels in many government ministries, with somewhat better representation in Education and Health. However at the middle-management level, many of the employees in Education and Health are teachers and doctors, respectively. If only the civil servants were counted, the numbers in Education and Health would be very much lower.

Table 4.1 Federal government civil servants by gender and service level (%)

Level	*Position (BPS)*	*Total management*	*M (%)*	*F (%)*
Executive levels	22	67	100	0
	21	211	99	1
Senior management	20	741	94	6
	19	1682	89	11
Middle management	18	3614	88	12
	17	6303	86	14
Total		*12618*	*88*	*12*

Source: Thirteenth Census of Federal Government Civil Servants (GOP 2006b: 51).

Table 4.2 Federal government divisions/organizations, gender, and management levels (%)

Departments	*Total numbers*	*Middle management*		*Senior management*		*Executive level*	
		M (%)	*F (%)*	*M (%)*	*F (%)*	*M (%)*	*F (%)*
Food, Agriculture & Livestock	259	97	3	97	3	100	0
Industries	100	96	4	96	4	100	0
Finance	771	95	5	92	8	100	0
Establishment	186	92	8	98	2	100	0
Cabinet	125	97	3	97	3	100	0
Commerce	156	100	0	98	2	100	0
Environment	94	94	6	95	5	100	0
Housing & Works	388	99	1	100	0	100	0
Interior	316	98	2	98	2	100	0
Communications	323	94	6	97	3	100	0
Education	1077	56	46	60	40	100	0
Health	782	74	26	86	14	86	14

Source: Adapted from Thirteenth Census of Federal Government Civil Servants (GOP 2006b).

This raises the question whether women do not work or whether something else is involved. The review of the literature suggests that while the majority of women work in every sector of the economy, their participation is not recognized or facilitated by the state (Davidson 1998; Iftikhar, Ali, and Ahmad 2007; Amin et al. 2010; BBC 2011). Women's willing participation in different sectors of the economy does not give them an automatic right of representation in the male-dominated public sector organizations. For example, Agriculture is considered the biggest sector of Pakistani economy and accounts for 22 percent of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) (GOP 2010b). This sector employs 45.1 percent of the total labor force, with women making up 74 percent of the total (ibid.). Women's representation in the Agriculture Ministry is minimal (GOP 2006b), but when the reality of women's life in the rural areas is seen, one finds that more women than men are involved in agricultural farming (Davidson 1998; Iftikhar, Ali, and Ahmad 2007; Ishaq and Farooq 2007; Afzal et al. 2009; Amin

et al. 2009). Women do not benefit from their participation in agricultural and livestock activities (Hashmi et al. 2007; Shafiq 2008; GOP 2010b; Amin et al. 2010). The land they work on belongs to the men (Naz et al. 2010), and so women's contributions are undervalued and their choices[6] are constrained (Afzal et al. 2009; Khan and Khan 2010). In urban areas women work in both the informal and formal sectors of the economy and include manufacturing and service workers, unskilled factory workers, vendors, home-based workers, domestic servants, telephone operators, travel agents, nurses, computer operators, clerical workers, receptionists, and office secretaries for doctors, teachers, and bank officials (Qureshi 2000; Maqsood et al. 2005; Khan and Khan 2009). Their status is linked to their type of occupation and this can be very low (Sathar and Kazi 1988). Some professions such as teaching and medicine are considered appropriate for women, while domestic labor and nursing are accorded low social status (Wolf 1986; Lee and Saeed 2001). French et al. (1994) argue that women's increasing preference for the medical profession is related to the fast expansion and accessibility of medical schools, which have grown from 5 to 20 in two decades, but in other sectors society and the state are involved in maintaining the low status of working women:

> Discrimination against girls by both the family and the state has resulted in women being employed in the least satisfying, lowest paying and least upwardly mobile jobs. Traditionally, women are excluded from employment opportunities that pre-suppose contact with men. (p. 142)

In the public sector, women's absence from senior positions as well as many occupations is also linked to the promotion policies of the government of Pakistan. The rules stipulate that promotion be on the basis of seniority cum fitness (GOP 2007a). Even if quotas for women were increased to 50 percent at the entry level, given the present rules in the elite services with fast-track promotion,[7] it would still require 22 years as a minimum length of service[8] to be considered for promotion to BPS 22 (GOP 1973a; 2007a). That is, it would still take 20 years for a major impact to be felt. Women entering the public sector through quotas or on merit in competitive examination still would not reach senior positions until the minimum length of service is attained. This would result in the maintenance of gendered organizational hierarchies and the status quo as far as women are concerned for some time.

The State and the Policies of Representation of Women

In Pakistan, quotas have been used to reserve seats for women in the Parliament (GOP 1998; 2003; Reyes 2002; Graff 2003; Rai, Shah, and Ayaz 2007; Bano 2009; Krook and Hall 2009; Mushtaq 2009), but in the public sector employment quotas for women have largely been resisted. For example, the constitutions of 1956, 1962, and 1973 and the constitutional amendments in 1985 stipulated 3 percent, 2.75 percent, 5 percent, and 10 percent quotas for women, respectively, for representation in the political institutions but not in the public sector organizations (Graff 2003; Rai, Shah, and Ayaz 2007). Further, the quotas for women in parliament were increased[9] to an all time high level of 17 percent during the Musharraf (1999–2007) (Reyes 2002; Graff 2003). The Local Government Ordinance (2001) mandated 33 percent quotas for women elected to union councils (Reyes 2002; Graff 2003; Rai, Shah, and Ayaz 2007; Khattak 2010). Overall, while quotas in political institutions strengthened the grip of the elite, these elite women, however, continued to face discrimination in these political institutions (Bari 2010). There has been some political space for women[10] (Reyes 2002), as quotas have resulted in the passing over of some political power "from fathers to daughters instead of sons only" (Bano 2009: 19).

Quota in the public sector is more of an issue due to problems of regional representation, not gender concerns and needs per se. The federal bureaucracy has traditionally been flooded with officers from Punjab and had a marginal presence from other federating provinces and regions including Balochistan, Interior Sind, and Azad Kashmir. Equitable regional representation, in the federal bureaucracy from all provinces[11] could thus only be ensured through quotas (Waseem 1997; Mushtaq 2009). The misappropriation of these regional quotas has been seen by some as the failure of federalism further isolating the marginalized and causing identity crisis in the ethnic groups (Adeney 2009). However, this analysis does not discuss these issues with reference to women.

Quotas for women in the public sector at the federal level were introduced in 1989 with 5 percent quotas for women in all federal ministries (GOP 2003: 11) but the condition that applied the policy to only entry-level recruitment and not promotion made it ineffective[12] (ibid.). A decade later in 1998, the federal government again issued a notification reserving a 5 percent quota for women in the public sector, but both Punjab, the most populous province, and Balochistan, the largest in area, did not endorse it,

and NWFP reduced the quota to 2 percent, with only Sind endorsing the policy (ibid.). In 2006 the government lifted the entry-level quota to 10 percent but without a mechanism for implementation (GOP 2007b). While quotas have been instrumental for women's increased representation in the political institutions, a quota policy for the public sector has largely been a failure due to the lack of acceptance of quotas and the meaninglessly low levels that have been set.

There has been a push for an affirmative action policy for the public sector since the mid-1990s (GOP 1998; 2003). In 1998 the National Plan of Action recommended a 25 percent quota for women in all[13] public semi-autonomous and government organizations (GOP 1998: 55) and at least 5 percent women at all levels of the public sector agencies (ibid.). The plan also suggested an increase in the upper age limit to 35 for women intending to join public sector organizations, as well as a relaxation in age limit for the reentry of women in public sector organizations (ibid.). In 2000, the ADB suggested a further quota increase to 30 percent (ADB 2000; Khattak 2010). In 2003, the National Commission on Status of Women noted that the previous government announcements of quotas had not been formalized through inclusion in the Civil Establishment Code (ESTACODE)[14] (GOP 2003: 9; 2007a), and recommended the adoption and implementation of quotas at all levels of public sector institutions, service groups, and regulatory and statutory authorities (GOP 2003: xiv).

> The subject of women's representation in administrative system of the government has received very little attention, if at all, from either the government or private sector interest groups. As for as the efforts of the government are concerned, these have remained limited to announcements for reservations of quota in jobs. (p. 1)

In 2005, a four-year program, Gender Reform Action Plan[15] (GRAP), aimed to advance the status of women and their participation in the public sector at federal, provincial, and district levels through an ambitious plan of restructuring the women's machinery in government, with a minimum of 10 percent quota for women in the superior civil services and 50 percent of posts falling vacant in BPSs being filled through fresh recruitment and promotion of women (Rai, Shah, and Ayaz 2007). These recommendations have yet to be translated into a comprehensive policy for the equitable representation of women in the public sector. In sum, the representation of

women in the public sector remains low with policy recommendations for quotas generally ignored. This raises the question that if recommendations are consistently ignored, then can women's representation in the public sector of Pakistan be achieved through the adoption of training as a policy for gender equality in public sector organizations?

Below I will discuss the evolution of political and bureaucratic institutions, mobilization of women, role of political and religious actors, and the available political opportunity structures, in brief the political and historic context necessary for a deeper understanding of the issues that may cast some light on the issue of women's underrepresentation in the public employment.

The Political and Historical Context of Women's Underrepresentation

From the beginning, since the formation of Pakistan, women's underrepresentation in the public employment has rarely been a major issue for the women groups and civil society organizations. These organizations were led by the elite women who came from established political families, not ordinary women. Women's underrepresentation was not an issue for them but still they focused on more general rights and in particular women's underrepresentation in the parliament, where they made some achievements albeit with resistance. From 1947 to 1958 the three legal instruments—the Muslim Personal Law of Shariat (1948), Charter of Women's Rights (1954), and the Constitution of 1956, gave women legal right to own property, 3 percent reserved seats for women in the legislative assemblies, and the right to vote and elect women representatives to the reserved seats, respectively. Resistance came from both the civil and military regimes. For example, the Charter of Women's Rights, authored by a women member Begum Shah Nawaz, before being adopted was criticized by Sir Zafarrullah, then foreign minister of Pakistan on the ground that "a newborn state could not afford to incorporate justiciable fundamental rights" (Mumtaz and Shaheed 1987: 56) and on the flimsy grounds that even in Britain, at that time, Churchill had turned down a bill on equal pay for equal work by women. At the time, the initiative by Begum Ranna Liaquat Ali Khan, the wife of the first prime minister of Pakistan, to give military training to women, also deserves special mention. She took a bold and unprecedented step of establishing Women's National Guard (PWNG) and Pakistan Women's Naval Reserve (PWNR) in 1949 (Masroor 1980). Through this, 2,400 women were trained in the

use of guns and wireless communication system. However, this was sharply criticized by individuals, media, and the *mullahs* (clergy) because the initiatives were at odds with the traditional breadwinner-homemaker model and threatened the male ego as such (Mumtaz and Shaheed 1987). With the death of her husband, Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan in 1951, her influence on government also dwindled, and when she was posted as Pakistan's ambassador to the Netherlands in 1954, the military training of women was totally abandoned by the government.

The first decade also saw rise of religious actors who believed in notions of segregation on the basis of sex, which worked against the interests of women in the public employment. Jama'at-i-Islami, the right-wing political party pursued the agenda of turning Pakistan into a theocratic state (Bahadur 1975: 71; Irfan 2008: 5), as against Jinnah's vision of a non-theocratic state where the citizens could live in harmony irrespective of the caste, creed, religion, and sex (Mullally 2005: 345). Unfortunately, due to weak and divisive political elite, the weak institutions of the state, and the ability of clergy to create law and order situation, as demonstrated in the case of anti-Qadiani movement[16] in 1953, gave clergy the power to influence the government and pursue antiwomen agenda as part of a broader agenda of a theocratic state. Maulana Maududi believed that the measures taken by women such as Begum Ranna Liaquat Ali Khan would result in social perversion. He emphasized segregation of men and women in public offices; right of vote for all men but limited only to the educated female; a separate assembly for women; and ban on women to become the head of state (Mayer 1991).

The second decade of the existence of Pakistan is marked by the Marshal Law of Ayub Khan (1958–68). In this period, the Muslim Family Law Ordinance of 1961 (Weiss 1986; Mullally 2005) dealt with the issues of registration of marriages, polygamy, divorce, and maintenance issues in a marriage (Mumtaz and Shaheed 1987; Mullally 2005). Similarly, his Constitution of 1962 maintained the principle of quota for women in legislatures as in the Constitution of 1956 but instead of direct election on these seats it adopted a system of nomination of women candidates by male members of the Parliament. When Ms. Fatima Jinnah, the sister of the founding father of Pakistan, was fielded by the Combined Opposition Parties as a joint candidate in the presidential election against General Ayub Khan, government managed some Ulema to seek fatwa (religious pronouncement) declaring that women could not contest an election for the head of state

as per Islam. Ayub Khan stooped to the extent of "denouncing her as a deranged woman whom the Quaid used to shut up in her room" (Mumtaz and Shaheed 1987: 60).

Addressing social and institutional exclusion was seldom an issue for the Ayub regime, instead his era is known more for economic and infrastructure development, not human capital development that perhaps could have included women. The World Bank, United Nations, and Ford Foundation all collaborated with the government of Pakistan on programs dealing with the improvement of infrastructure, rapid industrialization, establishment of electricity, and communication networks (GOP 1957: 81; Gauhar 1967; Sayeed 1980); none dealt with the issues of human capital development. Ironically, Planning Commission of the government of Pakistan, at the time, willfully followed the doctrines of "social utility of greed" and "functional inequality" and erroneously believed that growth could only be achieved by tolerating social inequalities and by encouraging only a "few" to develop[17] (Sayeed 1980), women and marginalized had no chance. It can be argued that when the Fifth Five Year Plan of the Planning Commission considered health and teaching professions as suitable for women because of the distinct social roles of men and women, how they could be expected to be fully represented in other areas of public sector employment. Needless to say, this policy approach exacerbated poverty, mass illiteracy, and discriminated the socially disadvantaged groups (ibid.: 61) including women.

Bureaucracy, at the time, as the new contender of power was also not willing to open doors for people other than the civil service and the women. Ralph J. D. Braibanti (1966) and Shafqat (1997) have reported that whereas the influence of the politician dwindled in the Ayub era, bureaucrats gained substantive policy-making powers. And only a small clique of around five hundred officers controlled the policy-making process as well as the whole administration from top to bottom[18] (Braibanti 1966). These men jealously guarded elitism through a system of reservation of posts mandated by the self-enacted "CSP (Civil Service of Pakistan) Rules,[19] 1954," and the "Economic Pool Resolution"[20] of 1959. Ayub's government thus was a "government of the CSP, by the CSP, for the CSP" (Nazim 1972: 8). Justice Cornelius report[21] (1959–62) also indicated the monopolistic attitude of the bureaucratic elite as a prime reason for the denial of equality of opportunity to other service groups.[22] This supremacy of the few in the bureaucracy had a disastrous impact on "high policy formulation and execution" and resulted in "a colossal waste of human and physical resources"

(Nazim 1972: 4), neither allowing the marginalized groups, nor women to join their ranks.

The third decade saw the rise of Bhutto to power who launched administrative and constitutional reforms. His Constitution of 1973, and the decision to appoint women at top positions directly benefited women and the administrative reforms indirectly benefited women (Shafqat 1999). These reforms were aimed at controlling bureaucracy, not increasing the number of women in public employment as such. Lawrence Ziring and Laporte (1974) in a leading article, "The Pakistan Bureaucracy: Two Views," published after the reforms, analyzed the rationale for bureaucratic reforms and found it to be a natural result of Pakistan's "indigenous experience" in which a small group of elite,[23] egoistical bureaucracy supported by the military regime held sway on national policy decision making. Similarly, another prominent scholar, Shahid Javed Burki (1988: 101–102) identified four plausible reasons for Bhutto's administrative reforms that included Bhutto's personal conflict with few bureaucrats, the buildup in bureaucratic power[24] in the previous regime as compared to the politicians, ideological conflict of Bhutto leftists with bureaucrats, and lastly, the need to create political constituency in the hitherto belligerent bureaucracy through accommodation[25] of party supporters in it (also in Kaushik 1985; Wolpert 1993). However, sometimes change can have unintended consequences. In this case, women turned out to be the unintended beneficiary of the reforms. The reforms resulted in some presence of women in elite public service groups such as the District Management Group, Customs Group, and the Foreign Service of Pakistan (Shafqat 1999; Mumtaz and Shaheed 1987). Saeed Shafqat (1999), an expert on Pakistani bureaucracy and a former director of the Civil Services Academy, has reported that since these reforms at least 5 to 10 percent women have joined the civil services of Pakistan. Changes were happening, at the time, and women organizations flourished (Mumtaz and Shaheed 1987), more girls joined educational institutions (Weiss 1985), and women's representation in the public sector also increased (Shafqat 1999).

The fourth decade was especially hard on women's prospect for progress and representation in the public sector. General Zia ul Haq usurped state power in a military coup in 1977. He started using Islam as a proxy for the political legitimacy of his regime by appeasing the religious orthodoxy through his Islamization program.[26] This involved massive legal innovations to institutionalize gender inequality in the laws of Pakistan such as changes to the Evidence Act, property rights, and marriage laws (Kennedy

1988; Weiss 2003). Zia also co-opted Jama'at-i-Islami, the right-wing religious political party, into his cabinet with the result that Jama'at's narrow[27] outlook toward women, based on the views of Maulana Maududi who considered *purdah* (veil), gender inequality, and an emphasis on the domestic roles of women as the prerequisites for the creation of an Islamic society (Bahadur 1975; Mayer 1991; Irfan 2008), began to be reflected in the policies of the new regime (Mumtaz and Shaheed 1987). For example, the Evidence Act was amended in 1984 to conform to Islamic injunctions; it meant reducing the value of a woman's testimony[28] to half that of a man (Weiss 1985; 1986; 2003), thus to many making them half citizens. Haeri and others argue that Pakistan has largely framed its policies on the sex of employees as a ploy to control women in the family, the community, and the public sector (Jalal 1991; Haeri 2002; Shaheed 2010), with statecraft adopting the notions of religious orthodoxy[29] that explicitly declare control over women as the sign of Islamizing society (Jalal 1991; Haeri 2002; Shaheed 2010).

These state policies thus created an environment of hostility toward women in which the main issue for them, rather than seeking equality in the public sector, was how to negotiate the wrath of the state (Shaheed 2010). Shahla Haeri (2002) interviewed six successful professional Pakistani women, all of whom told her how they were socialized to be subservient to men, which affected their opportunities in life. Both state and family came to expect the subservience of women. Whenever this social code was transgressed by women it was considered to bring shame and dishonor for men; this has been the basis of persecution and murder of women in a tradition called *Karo-Kari*[30] (Patel and Gadit 2008). Similarly, there have been instances when women were raped by the order of the tribal council to avenge the honor of someone's family (Kristof 2005; Hussain 2006). These state policies had serious implications as to how state institutions marginalize women and have resulted in miscarriages of justice (Mumtaz and Shaheed 1987; Jafar 2005; Shaheed 2010). The complicity of the state in crimes against women held back the chances of any rights-based discourse on the situation of women in Pakistan for many years (Kothari 2005: 349; Mullally 2005).

The fifth decade that began with the rise to power of a first-ever women as the prime minister of a Muslim country was not without challenges. The most pressing was that Benazir Bhutto's government, for want of numbers in Parliament, could not repeal laws framed during Zia's regime,

which continued to provide the framework for action and policy to many institutions (Weiss 1990). However, she established First Women Bank in 1989, women studies programs in four universities, women police stations, and the upgradation of Women's Division to a full-fledged Ministry of Women Development. The Seventh Five Year Development Plan (1988–93) was also amended to accept that "low productivity, illiteracy and poor health are an unacceptable cost both morally and economically" (Planning Commission report cited in Weiss 1990). In her second tenure (1993–96), which coincided with the Beijing Conference, her government accepted that the retrogressive state-sponsored theocratic discriminatory legislation, which promoted the domestic role of women had resulted in the attrition of women's rights and the promotion of social bias against women (Weiss 2003). The report prepared for the Beijing Conference accepted that women constituted less than 5 percent of the federal bureaucracy and 40 percent of them were concentrated in education with very few in economic decision-making positions. The situation was so severe that until 1989 there was not even one woman ambassador or a federal secretary. Benazir Bhutto in her address at the Beijing Conference referred to the situation of women as "a moral crisis engulfing the world . . . a crisis of injustice and inaction, a crisis of silence and acquiesce . . . a fundamental moral issue" (Chow 1996).

In this decade, Nawaz Sharif also served two half terms as prime minister (1990–93 and 1997–99). The "Commission of Inquiry for Women" report released in 1997 accepted the presence of external pressures and "global currents" as a driving force for the government to act quickly on the issue of gender inequality "in some harmony with the international perspective and universally accepted norms. [For] If it does not do it now, it will be compelled to do it later, after much damage" (cited in Weiss 2003). This report also accepted the duality in governments' policy toward women as on the one hand government acceded to CEDAW and pledged to end gender inequality, on the other hand it did not repeal the discriminatory laws against women promulgated during Zia era. The report recommended the government to take affirmative action to end gross discrimination against women (Weiss 2003). Similarly, strategic policy document "Pakistan 2010" released in 1997 also listed the advancement of women as one of its goals. And in "Human Development and Poverty reduction Strategy" adopted by the government in 1999, the government resolved to alleviate poverty of women. However, despite the willingness and intention to tackle gender

inequality, both Benazir and Nawaz could not frame a general workable policy to tackle gender inequality in the public sector.

The Sixth Decade Act was marked by Musharraf's regime (1999–2008) who in 2006 changed the procedure of the Hudood Act, something which Benazir could not do, to help victims to neutralize the adverse impact of the Act on women (GOP 2006a). But its critics say that women still may not lodge a complaint for fear of "reactionary punishment" (Mehdi 2010). During the Musharraf regime, the other steps taken for gender equality included the posting of women in some of the top political positions such as governor of the State Bank of Pakistan, ambassadorial slots, especially in the United Kingdom, the first woman general in Pakistan Army Medical Corps and a few women commissioned in the Pakistan army and air force. Similarly, establishment of a Gender Crime Cell in the National Police Bureau; the creation of 42 "focal points" in the ministries of Interior, Parliamentary Affairs, Health, and Education to ensure gender sensitivity of programs; the establishment of the National Commission on the Status of Women (2000) with a mandate to evaluate and suggest policies, programs, and measures regarding gender inequality; and the announcement of the first-ever National Policy for Development and Empowerment of Women in March 2002. The seven-page policy reiterated the constitutional principles, international instruments of human rights, and the Islamic principles of justice and equality. It prioritized the poorest of the poor, recognition of the work done by women, and the need of women as equal partners in development as much as it advocated a gender-sensitive, needs-based participatory approach for tackling gender inequality. This emphasized the institutionalization of gender sensitization and "mainstreaming gender issues through integration into all sectors of national development" (GOP 2002: 2).

The above discussion suggests barriers and problems in the way of gender equality for women, the obvious result of which remains the underrepresentation of women in the public employment. Below I will discuss constraints in women's access to resources as an issue that is common in the life of women in public and private spheres.

The Issue of Women's Access to Resources

WAD approaches discussed in chapter 2 have argued that gender inequality results from women's lack of access to resources as argued at the Nairobi

Women's UN Conference (UN 1980). More general research on the public sector of Pakistan indicates that state institutions usually focus on men for the provision of resources such as training and development facilities, implying that women belong to the household (Iftikhar, Ali, and Ahmad 2007; Shafiq 2008). Development interventions such as credit and training for people involved in the agriculture sector often assume that men are the farmers and not women (Afzal et al. 2009). As a result, women are deprived of technical guidance, formal training, and information resources to carry out these activities, as much as they are denied formal education and security (Iftikhar, Ali, and Ahmad 2007). The more relevant evidence for the purpose of this research on access to resources comes from studies that have indicated that women who join the public sector face severe problem of access to transport[31] and other facilities such as toilets, day care centers, and accommodation[32] (Qureshi 2000; Maqsood et al. 2005). For example, Faisal (2010) analyzed the perceptions of three hundred female public servants from Islamabad and found that the satisfaction level about the provision of facilities such as toilets, transport, and childcare facilities was lowest among women employees. The other key resource is access to education and training within the public sector and before joining.

The Social Connection in Access to Resources

In Pakistan the issue of who gets what is tied from the very beginning to a disproportional right of access to life in the form of a strong social preference for sons (Hussain, Fikree, and Berendes 2000; Winkvist and Akhtar 2000; Shah et al. 2006). Sarkar and Midi (2009) found 71 percent of the people reported preferring a son ahead of a daughter. Often parents desire sons, and only when women have given birth to two or more sons do they want a daughter (Hussain, Fikree, and Berendes 2000; Muhammad 2009). Sons are socially privileged in terms of access to life, skills, and support such as education, with daughters disadvantaged from the very beginning, a feature shared by all South Asian societies including India, Bangladesh, and Nepal (Jayaraman, Mishra, and Arnold 2009; Brunson 2010; Echávarri and Ezcurra 2010; Sultana 2010; Vikram and Vanneman 2010). Both socioeconomic uncertainties[33] for the family and the policies of the state may be implicated in the lesser right of access to life, skills, and support for girls and women (Sen 1992; 2001; Basu and de Jong 2010; Begum et al. 2010; Vikram and Vanneman 2010).

The evidence from India indicates that aspects of social security such as that of the earning potential of the children and prospects of the support of parents in their old age result in a preference for sons (Ahmad 2010). In China having a son is as much a result of parent's desire for support in old age as it is due to China's pursuance of the one-child policy (Hesketh 2009; Zhu, Lu, and Hesketh 2009). Likewise in Pakistan, the consideration of dowry and the perceived need of support in old age put boys ahead of girls in family preference. Khan and Khan (2010) maintain, "As son brings benefits to his parents, daughter imposes costs, consequently, complementing a desire to have son is a desire not to have daughter" (p. 15). It is no surprise then that sex-selective abortion has been described as one reason for what Amartya Sen calls the "hundred million" missing women worldwide, the bulk of whom is concentrated in China, India, Bangladesh, and Pakistan (Sen 1990; 1992; 1998; 2001; Dahl 2007; Sharma 2008) and what has been referred to as genocide in the case of China and India (George 2006; Sharma 2008). In Pakistan the percentage of missing girls has fallen from 11 percent in 1981 to 6.8 percent in 1998, a marked improvement but still a large number (Hesketh and Xing 2006). While these scholars attribute the phenomenon to economic reasons, religion also plays a part. Singh et al. (2010), for instance, in their research including Pakistani and Indian diasporas in Norway, both economically better off, found a smaller proportion of the Pakistani community practicing sex selection than the Indian community. This has been attributed to the Islamic faith, which strongly denounces the practice of female infanticide (Giladi 1990; Rispler-Chaim 2008).

Access to Education

Education is generally considered a gateway to employment and a transformative resource for gender equality (Stromquist 2006; Durrani 2008; Hussain 2008; Latif 2009; Malik and Courtney 2010) and is a human right in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and CEDAW (UN General Assembly 1948; 1979). In Pakistan education has been listed under the principles of policy (GOP 1973b; 2009) and the higher the educational attainment, the greater the chance of better public sector employment and vice versa (Naqvi and Shahnaz 2004; Faridi, Malik, and Ahmad 2010; Malik et al. 2010). In Pakistan, however, citizens' access to education is abysmally low, with an adult literacy rate of just 50 percent, the lowest in South Asia[34] (GOP 2009; Latif 2009), and the female literacy rate is just

35.2 percent (Latif 2009). The gender gap in education is more pronounced in the rural areas (Chaudhry and Rehman 2009) where the female literacy rate is 25 percent and the overall girls' enrollment in primary schools is only 20 percent. The majority of women in Pakistan have no access to education as a resource for employment (Latif 2009), and so they are forced to take low-paid jobs (Khan and Khan 2009).

Low Demand for and Poor Supply of Education

Girls' access to education is arguably constrained by the economically driven low demand for female education in Pakistan (Mahmood 2004; Aslam and Kingdon 2008) with evidence of low enrollments and low household expenditure on female education (Aslam and Kingdon 2008), suggesting it is an issue of demand rather than supply. In a sample drawn from the last Pakistan Integrated Household Survey (2001–2) of 14,680 households, there was a significant gender bias in favor of boys in both enrollment and expenditure on education (Aslam and Kingdon 2008). This was more pronounced in the rural areas generally and in Balochistan, KPK (formerly NWFP), and Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) specifically. The male education bias was above the age of 10, after which girls were not encouraged to continue their education. Most of this was found in the rural areas where girls were systematically kept out of the school system. There is an argument that it is the poor supply of education rather than demand that limits girls' access to education (Barber 2010), due to persistent neglect of education by the state (Khan 1997; Khalid and Khan 2006; GOP 2009; Barber 2010). Less than 2.5 percent of GDP expenditure is allocated for education overall (GOP 2009) with female education being ignored, most obviously in rural areas (Aslam and Kingdon 2008; Latif 2009; Halai 2010). "The reason so many children are not in school is not lack of will on the part of parents; it is a failure of provision by the state" (Barber 2010: 3). Barber has identified poor facilities, poor location, and the unsatisfactory experiences of parents with the state education system as the main causes for parents not sending girls for education. Moreover, one-quarter of the teachers do not go to work daily, 60 percent of government schools are without electricity, and 34 percent are without water. As a result, thousands of approved schools, mainly in the interior, are not open for any day of the year and are known as "ghost schools"[35] (e.g., Bray 1983; Keefer, Narayan, and Vishwanath 2003; Kronstadt 2004; Candland 2005;

Upadhyay, Barton, and Zahur 2005; Belt 2007; Ahmad and Junaid 2010). This lack of access to education thus results in poor prospects for jobs in the public sector. But what explains the absence of women in male-dominated professions in situations where demand and supply of education seem to be a nonissue such as in AJK?

Demand and Supply of Education in AJK

The demand and supply of education in AJK has been a priority for the government,[36] with the gross enrollment ratio of boys as 95 percent and girls 88 percent (GOAJK 2009), as well as the ratio of female and male students in the government colleges being almost equal (ibid.: 39). This high demand for and supply of female education has resulted in relatively equal numbers of men and women employed in educational institutions such as schools and universities (ibid.). However, despite the demand and supply of education targeting girls, with the exception of the Education Department, the representation of women in other government departments remains minimal. More than the demand and supply of education, it is the policy consideration of the appropriate role of women that allows them to join traditionally female professions such as education but restricts them from traditionally male professions, which affects women's employment in the government services.

Access to Education beyond Demand and Supply

It is important to go beyond the issue of demand and supply of education to focus on the policies of the state on the content of education, which is modeled on the traditional roles of men and women (Naseem 2004; 2006; Durrani 2008). Education has been arguably used as a policy tool for the reproduction of culture and social systems (Bourdieu and Passeron 1990; Halai 2010) and in Pakistan, the policy uses education to produce and reproduce divisive gendered identities of citizens (Naseem 2006; Durrani 2008). In KPK, Durrani (2008), in a textual analysis of state-provided class five textbooks, found[37] that gendered identity was meshed with national and Islamic identity[38] and education, and was being used as a tool to maintain, reproduce, and reinforce gendered social hierarchies. In textbooks iconic Muslim women such as Hazrat Khadija (Prophet's wife) and Hazrat Fatima (Prophet's daughter) are described as obedient wives and mothers,

while the men are portrayed as warriors.[39] The message for the girls is that the role of women in Pakistan after marriage is only that of obedient wives, while the message for the boys is that a life of chivalry and heroism modeled on the pattern of the male iconic figures awaits them. Men have been using educational material to justify their control in the name of religion[40] for a long time (Jalal 1991; Robinson 2004). The argument that policy rather than being a driver of change has been used by men to perpetuate so-called cultural values is reflected in the objective in the National Education Policy (GOP 2009):

> All policy interventions shall fall within the parameters identified in the Principles of Policy... [for] developing Pakistani children as proud Pakistani citizens having strong faith in religion and religious teachings as well as the cultural values and traditions of the Pakistani society. (p. 9)

These cultural values are largely patriarchal.

The Issue of Public Sector Policies and Practices in Pakistan

As pointed out above, Pakistan generally suffers from a policy deficit on gender relations. This argument is supported by reform commissions and reports that have recommended restructuring the government, policies, and the public sector organizations to be more gender inclusive (GOP-NCGR 2008; ICG 2010). Public sector policies in Pakistan do not mention gender equality and tend to preserve the status quo, which continues to disadvantage women. For example, the allocation of business to government ministries and departments is the prerogative of the Cabinet Division (GOP 1973c: 72) and in its guiding policy, with the exception of the Ministry of Women's Development, the words "gender"[41] or "women" or even "equality" appear nowhere in the listed mandates of the 31 heads and 52 divisions (GOP 1973c). For the Women Development Division, their mandate has been as follows:

1. Matters relating to formulation of public policies and laws to meet the special needs of women, ensuring that woman's interests and needs are adequately represented in public policy formulation by various organs and agencies of government

2. Assistance to women's organizations
3. Promotion and undertaking of projects for providing special facilities for women
4. Promotion and undertaking of training and research on the conditions and problems of women
5. Representing Pakistan at international and bilateral level, involving all gender-related matters
6. Matters relating to equality of opportunity in education and employment and the fuller participation of women in all spheres of national life (pp. 72–73)

However, in the overall context of the functioning of the government of Pakistan, the Women and Development Division was not part of cabinet committees[42] chaired by the prime minister (GOP 2010d) but a part of the Social Sector Coordination Committee of the Cabinet (SSCC), with the role of monitoring and project implementation rather than policies for achieving the goal of gender equality: "To review and monitor the progress of all projects/programmes and activities in the social sector in order to ensure effective utilization of funds and their speedy implementation" (GOP 2010d). Both its position and its mandate suggested the Ministry of Women Development itself was marginalized within the government. Unfortunately, through the eighteenth amendment in the constitution, the Ministry of Women Development was devolved to the provinces thus creating an institutional void at the federal government level (*Dawn* 2011).

Sexual Harassment in the Workplace

The Alliance against Sexual Harassment (AASHA) notes that an "aggressive work environment" caused by sexual harassment[43] discourages women who have joined any gainful or fulfilling employment and promotion (AASHA 2010). Until recently, there have been no policies regarding this issue. However, this has recently begun to attract the attention of civil society organizations. For example, they have promoted a bill titled "Protection against Harassment of Women at Workplace Act" (AASHA 2010; GOP 2010c) and the Pakistan Penal Code Act has been amended to include a section titled "Insulting modesty or causing sexual harassment" through which sexual harassment has been made a crime punishable with imprisonment

(GOP 2010a) but to date there have been no convictions. Sexual harassment is generally considered a taboo subject[44] and women generally avoid talking about it. For example, the report (GOP 2003) on the "Status of Women's Employment in Public Sector" says,

> A large number of female respondents were reluctant to discuss the details with regard to sexual harassment but nearly 80 percent conceded that it did exist but unfortunately always went unreported, as they did not know who to turn to and also due to the fear of a backlash. (p. xiv)

There is a lack of confidence by women in patriarchal institutions. When a Domestic Violence (Prevention and Protection) Bill came up for legislation, the Council of Islamic Ideology (another male-dominated institution) raised objections on the grounds that it would allow police to interfere in family affairs and it would "fan unending family feuds and push up divorce rates" (in HRCP 2009: 190). Patriarchal state institutions and male privilege were strengthened on the basis of culture, tradition, and religious argument (Greiff 2010). These policies based on segregated social roles for men and women have arrested the development of women in Pakistan (Kothari 2005), including their representation in the public employment. There were serious consequences of the state's complicity, which, from women's point of view, were the basis of the failure of institutions in protecting their interests.

> A nation-state has a responsibility to protect its women as equal citizens, yet states like Pakistan have structurally disenfranchised women from state protection by making them half citizens and reducing their right to be their own legal person. (Rashid 2009: 566)

As a result of the institutional failure to include and safeguard women's rights, other ordinary women in their daily life have to barter security with obedience[45] to men in family and society. Failure to do so results in violence in which they find themselves helpless in terms of the role of the state (Abrar and Ghouri 2010; Critelli and Willett 2010; Farooq et al. 2010; Nasrullah and Muazzam 2010; Zia Ullah 2010). As the state fails to protect women, there is a tendency by women to publicly accept that they have harmed themselves[46] and were not harmed by other family members and

state institutions, which also affects them adversely (Farooq et al. 2010; Hamid, Johansson, and Rubenson 2010; Haqqi and Faizi 2010). Andersson et al. (2010) found this was due to strong disincentives such as fear of backlash[47] and lack of confidence in state institutions to take action against perpetrators.

State institutions such as courts, police, and hospitals all betray women by not prosecuting these cases (HRCP 2009). For example, in a case that got international attention, a woman, Mukhtaran Mai, was raped by the orders of the tribal council, but at every stage the state institutions betrayed her by delaying the filing of the report by the police, by inaction by the courts, and by the acquittal of the accused (for details see Supreme Court of Pakistan 2011).

The issue of policy deficit and failure of state institutions has resulted in the abysmal condition of women but it does not mean that changes are not occurring on the ground. Pakistani society is undergoing fast and perceptible changes regarding the status of women. Changes are occurring mainly in the areas of women's education, entrepreneurship, and employment (Burki 2012). The failure of the state to provide education manifested in ghost schools, and the demand created by growing middle class, increasing rural-urban linkages and the fact that half of the population of Pakistan is under the age of 22, created a void that is increasingly being filled by the private sector. Educated women started their own business and the success of women's entrepreneurship is now well recognized and celebrated by women. Women's enrollment in the institutions of higher education is also on the rise. In 1993, around 15,000 girls were in the professional colleges and universities, and by 2010 their number rose to above 400,000. In 2015, 1.5 million women are estimated to be graduating from the institutions of higher education and learning. Taking stock of these changes, some have already started speculating about "women's quiet revolution" (ibid). There are signs of this revolution in progress in the form of more and more women's excellence in opening up chains of private schools, and their numbers increasing in other nontraditional sectors including banking, telecommunication, politics, and law. Needless to say that these changes have not been the outcome of public policy of the state; the pace of change could be enhanced if government machinery and the donor agencies were to frame policies aimed at mitigating the adverse effects of development policies and procedures. In the following section, I will discuss the role, policies, and

operation of development agencies related to gender-related activities in Pakistan.

Brief Analysis of Development Agency Interventions

Development agencies have been participating in the development efforts of the government of Pakistan, especially in the areas of poverty alleviation, health, education, nutrition, livelihood opportunities, and gender equality initiatives; however, Pakistan continues to lag behind other countries of the region. In Pakistan, inclusion of gender into development activities is a highly charged subject. There is lot of cynicism and resistance to the idea of incorporating gender in the work of development. At times it is seen as an imposition from Western countries and donor agencies, at other times it is merely seen as a condition necessary to be met to secure development funds from donor agencies. Development agencies have also limitations in working because they have to align with the agenda set by the host governments. Development agencies themselves suffer from lack of coordination with other development agencies in a country that raises questions about the priorities needed for incorporation of gender in the work of development, achieving much less results than initially imagined. Development agencies such as the World Bank have developed country partnership strategies to meet the significant challenges faced by Pakistan including tackling gender inequality. The following subsections present a brief account of the gender-related interventions of three development agencies in Pakistan: the World Bank, the ADB, and the UNDP.

The World Bank

The World Bank's gender interventions in Pakistan are governed by the Country Gender Assessment (CGA) report that prioritizes the education sector for the bank's gender mainstreaming efforts (World Bank 2005). The report emphasizes the centrality of girls' access to education for access to employment, health facilities, and political representation (ibid.: 86). The report notes that girls' access to education is affected by the constraints on their mobility due to men's concerns about the safety and honor of women in the public arena, which the report attributes to the family and socio-cultural conservative norms and environment (ibid.). The report, however, avoids other issues such as the role of the state in the issue of the safety of its

citizens, particularly women. Further, consistent with its neoliberal strategies, the World Bank report presents the state of Pakistan in benevolent terms as already taking action[48] on gender issues. For example, the report (World Bank 2005) maintains,

> Fortunately, since the late 1990s, the Government of Pakistan has nurtured a climate that is conducive to achieving greater gender equality by launching programs designed to increase girls' school enrolment, enhance female access to health care, and facilitate women's participation in the public arena. (p. iii)

The contested nature of the state and the problematic nature of gendered institutions such as the police and the courts, which seriously constrain the empowerment of women, are not included in the World Bank CGA report for Pakistan (Vishwanath 2006). The World Bank configures its financial assistance to match the development goals set by the government of Pakistan, which in accordance with the bank's approach include poverty reduction, infrastructure development, and meeting the shortfall in spending on education (World Bank 2011). The bank's interventions in Pakistan in the last decade have included the Pakistan Poverty Alleviation Fund Project[49] (PPAF), which has a focus on poverty alleviation through skills development, grants, and microcredit loans for small-scale infrastructure projects, and support to the Earthquake Relief and Reconstruction Authority (ERRA) for its Rural Housing and Reconstruction Program (RHRP). There are also education reforms at national and provincial levels targeting the enrollment of children including girls from poor households by providing stipends and grants, and encouraging the private sector[50] (World Bank 2011).

ADB

The ADB's gender interventions in Pakistan, like those of the World Bank, are governed by the CGA, which recognizes women's exclusion from economic opportunities and gainful employment. This is reflected in the low gender-gap index (GGI) of the World Economic Forum (112/115 and 126/128 for the years 2006 and 2007, respectively) (ADB 2008: 1). The ADB, however, does not recognize that it is due to lack of education on the part of women, as the ADB recognizes that women with more education do

not necessarily have more opportunities of employment, as these are limited by the discrimination at the workplace and "physical insecurity" faced by women (ibid.).

> A considerably higher proportion of unemployed women 25–34 years old hold a degree certificate compared to their male counterparts, and female labor force participation increases have been almost entirely among illiterate populations. With slow increases, the labor force participation rates of women at only 19 per cent in Pakistan remains the lowest in the region. (p. 1)

This report emphasizes a project-development approach to the economic empowerment of women in the four areas of focus in the country partnership strategy (CPS) (ibid.: 1).

1. Major infrastructure projects such as roads and irrigation for equitable social benefit and provision of employment during the construction (ibid.: 51–59)
2. Government sector reforms for allocation of equitable financial and technical training resources for women (ibid.: 60–63)
3. Inclusive and balanced development through capacity building of politicians and public employees as well as the equitable participation of women in the design and implementation of urban and rural infrastructure projects such as transport, water, and sanitation so as to address the issues of access and elimination of barriers to access (ibid.: 64–66)
4. Effectiveness of implementation and harmonized efforts as called for in the Paris Declaration for effective development outcomes achieved through capacity building of Pakistan's Resident Mission (PRM) for gender analysis (ibid.: 67)

These are all fairly token in nature and do not address the heart of the problem of women's access to employment and other resources. The focus of ADB in Pakistan has been to see women as a disadvantaged group who need opportunities through projects, rather than on dealing with the institutions that disadvantage women to achieve meaningful change. There was a legal empowerment project in Pakistan, which involved "educating vulnerable groups about legal rights and processes for accessing legal and

administrative remedies" (ADB 2009b: 10), which seems to imply that the disadvantage that women face is due to their ignorance of the laws (ibid.) rather than to the laws themselves. This project, however, has had some benefits such as some increase in the number of women judges in the lower judiciary (ADB 2009c: 15). However, these have not improved "police performance and accountability" (ibid.: 16). The image of the police has declined, suggesting the institutional capacity building was "unsuccessful," with less than 17 percent of the ADB loan remaining utilized (ibid.: 17). The projects emphasized the inclusion of women, but in the project itself only 1 of the 55 consultants recruited for the project was a woman, making it arguably a program of men for men (see ADB 2009c: 46c).

UNDP

The UNDP gender interventions identify a number of areas of cooperation, including participatory governance, poverty alleviation, health, and education (UNDP 2003b; Husain and Adham 2005). The framework identifies gender as a crosscutting theme along with other themes including environment, humanitarian affairs, crime prevention, and drug control (UNDP 2003b; Husain and Adham 2005: 4). This framework considered women similar to other marginalized groups: "To broaden choices and increase opportunities, particularly for the poor, women and marginalised groups" (UNDP 2003a: 2). The Gender Support Program (GSP) (UNDP 2007: 6; UNDP 2009b) aimed to "contribute to poverty reduction in Pakistan through gender-responsive governance and a rights-based approach to sustainable human development" (UNDP 2007: 6) and included a focus on women's "access to resources, rights, opportunities and justice" (UNDP 2009b). The outcome of these projects, UNDP hoped, would be institutional change that would positively affect Pakistani people (UNDP 2009a).

> In the context of UNDP, the primary objective of the projects and programme is to build the institutional capacities, thus the outputs are basic means to achieve outcomes (institutional change) and ultimately the lives of the people should be impacted positively. (p. 34)

The UNDP has supported three projects: the GSP with a Women's Political School (WPS), Gender Mainstreaming through Planning and

Development (GMP&D 2005–7), and lastly Gender Based Governance Systems (GBG). The common feature of these programs has been an overwhelming emphasis on gender training. Under the WPS it was claimed that more than fifty thousand women councillors had been trained (UNDP 2007); and under the GMP&D project[51] (2005–7), gender training was provided to federal and provincial public sector employees belonging to key planning departments (UNDP 2007). UNDP claimed that both programs (GMP&D and WPS) "laid a fundamental foundation within the government's systems that advocates, approves, plans, monitors and evaluates gender issues as an integral part of development" (UNDP 2007: 7) and claimed that "gender mainstreaming has been successful in capacity building of government officers and as a result they have been advocating for gender reforms in the planning process" (ibid.: 7). However, these claims, rather than being independently tested, were mainly based on the project reports prepared by the project implementation teams from the planning and development departments. The yardstick of success for them was the number of people that were provided with gender training; it was not a behavioral change.

There is some evidence that the UNDP not only faced constraints in implementing the programs but also that its gender mainstreaming strategy for Pakistan was not ready. For example, the gender and development consultants employed at the time found a lack of awareness of gender issues by the UNDP's country-office staff, attitudes based on "cultural knowledge and intuition" and a belief that the gender policies circulated to them were not relevant to their work (Husain and Adham 2005: 4). The limited integration of women in the UNDP country office, as well as the lack of integration of women in UNDP-assisted projects were identified as issues (Husain and Adham 2005: 13). "So far, neither the Country Office nor the national and provincial legislatures have served to inspire the projects to move decisively in the direction of gender parity" (ibid.).

The lack of awareness of staff on gender issues as well the limited integration of women in local institutions should have been examined when UNDP designed later interventions for the public sector. The untested assumption that previous gender training programs had been successful, coupled with the belief that training courses "influence change in attitudes," led UNDP to continue with sole emphasis on gender training (GBG) (UNDP 2007: 7). The assumption of the follow-up

GBG program was that the federal and provincial public sector employees had been sensitized by the gender training and all that remained was the training at the lower political and bureaucratic levels in provinces so that both could complement each other. In 2010 there were 71 training events with 2,672 women participants with the potential to become local political leaders (UNDP 2010); 1,013 public sector employees at the provincial, district, and subdistrict level; and 1,790 union council secretaries.

The UNDP's training model completely ignored the structural constraints, both social and at the level of the state, which limit women's integration and access to resources, and in the process disenfranchise them from realizing the status of equal citizens. UNDP seemed to be ignorant of the reality of women's work so that the training interventions were largely for men by men. UNDP's Gender Justice program[52] was meant to provide an alternate dispute resolution platform to the communities (UNDP 2009a: 18), with one-third of the members of each dispute resolution committee being women; but there were no women in these committees at all (ibid.). UNDP argued that this was due to social, cultural, and religious factors; it was careful not to mention the role of the state and the structural constraints[53] (ibid.).

More recently, UNDP's own outcome evaluation report (2004–8), citing policies of environment and disaster management, pointed to the weak gender content of the policies, as well as the weakness of women's machinery, the lack of implementation strategies, and "vague or missing" enforcement procedures (UNDP 2009b: 6). This was described as a "serious issue at all tiers of government, including federal, provincial and the local governments" (ibid.). Further, the report pointed out that the already weak political commitment at national and provincial levels to the gender agenda had become further attenuated due to the worsening security situation, which had deflected the state's attention away from concerns with gender equality to issues of state security. Looking inward, the report also mentioned that UNDP's projects in Pakistan had been implemented in "relative isolation" and required "effective stakeholder coordination" (ibid.). The report (ibid.) was skeptical about gender training as an approach to bring change in institutional practices:

> There are some indications of greater awareness about gender issues among the civil servants and policy makers who have benefitted from

> the variety of training programs. However, these have yet to translate into systemic capacities. The mission could not find evidence to conclude that the various initiatives have led to a marked change in public sector practices, or change that is likely to be sustained. (p. 6)

This suggests that in the context of low representation and limited access to resources such as education, gender, and development projects, the public sector prioritized the gender training of civil servants (they being mainly men) as a means to achieve gender equality in the public sector of Pakistan. While there is no denying that training can be important, training as a sole policy response raises the issue of its relevance and adequacy to the issues of representation, access to resources and the institutional practices that affect women's equality in Pakistan.

Conclusion

This chapter has presented an overview of the issues of representation, access to resources, and the institutional practices in Pakistan. It has reviewed the literature that forms the basis of this book in the context of the public sector of Pakistan. It highlights that although women work in all sectors of the economy, government policies seldom addressed the issue of women's representation in the public sector. The few recommendations that have been made in this regard have yet to be accepted as policies of the state. More serious is the neglect of the issue of provision of access to resources to women, which has been ignored by both the government and the development agencies. The issue of access to resources, more generally, suggests that women have been structurally disenfranchised by the state of Pakistan through the adoption of policies that have made women unequal citizens. Policies based on the categories of women and men that were devised for political expediency have had serious consequences for women in the social domain in Pakistan. Although researchers and social activists noted these consequences for women and recommended change in these general policies, research has not specifically examined the institutional practices and policies and their effects on women and men in the public sector.

In the last few years, however, the government and the development agencies have focused on being seen to address the issue of gender inequality in the public sector. The priorities of donors and the government have converged to result in gender training as a de facto policy of gender equality

in the public sector of Pakistan. The effectiveness of this policy in relation to the gender issues of the study has not been examined in detail. The next chapter presents the methodology adopted for the study to examine these issues to draw conclusions for the adequacy of the gender equality approach for the public sector of Pakistan by the government and the development agencies.

CHAPTER 5

Echoes of Patriarchal Benevolence, Fierce Resistance to Equality, and Institutional Inertia

Introduction

This chapter presents the findings of the study regarding the central concern of this book, that is, the relationship of gender training with the problem of gender inequality in the public employment of Pakistan. It brings to fore the complexity of gender equality efforts such as gender sensitivity trainings by sharing findings about patriarchal benevolence, fierce resistance that gender sensitivity trainings can result in, and the ongoing unchanged institutional inertia that suggests policy interventions must go beyond mere gender sensitivity trainings and need to reform the patriarchal institutions and policies. It emphasizes that inclusion of gender into development activities is a highly charged subject in Pakistan. That it is a more serious problem than gender is seen as an imposition from Western countries and donor agencies. That there is a greater level of cynicism around gender issues because it is seen as something that will get you the funds to run programs. That gender sensitivity training far from being satisfactory, unintendedly producing greater resistance to gender equality.

The research asked questions of participants with and without gender training on the issues of women's representation, access to resources,

and the organizational practices to understand the impact of training on participants. The univariate analysis found that training was not significantly related[1] to ($p > 0.05$) research participants' attitudes to the representation of women, access to resources, and changes in organizational practices.

The attitudes of research participants to the increased representation of women through quotas differed across geographic locations, with those in Muzaffarabad generally supporting and those in Islamabad opposing quotas for women.[2] Attitudes toward the representation of women were also related to the research participants' positions in the organizations. Those without gender training at the senior-management level generally opposed women's increased representation in organizations through quotas but those with training at this level supported women's increased representation in organizations. At the middle-management level those with training, however, tended to oppose quotas for women, and this included women as well, suggesting that training had an opposite effect to what was intended by those managing and facilitating training.

Training also did not result in a significant change ($p > 0.05$) in attitudes to women's access to resources in the public sector. Men at the middle-management level who had received gender training increasingly opposed the adoption of gender policies and pro-women strategies that could result in women's increased access to resources. However, women pointed out the need to take steps to increase their access to social and institutional resources, suggesting that gender interest rather than training determined who supports or opposes women's access to resources. Men at the senior-management level who had received training pointed to measures for increased access of women to social and institutional resources that were needed for achieving progress toward equality.

Contrary to the intended purpose of training, the research found training was not significantly related to a change in research participants' routine activities in organizations. Research participants' activities in organizations were governed by organizational policies and mandates rather than by training per se. It was found that the behavior of research participants in organizations was governed by organizational policies rather than by training, which was generic in nature and not often related to trainees' work, suggesting that the gender blindness of policies hinders work on gender equality.

Attitudes toward Representation of Women in the Public Sector

In the univariate analysis, "Training" was not found to be significantly related ($p > 0.05$) to research participants' attitudes toward quotas for women. This meant that on average the attitudes of the research participants with training were not significantly different from those without training, and this was not due to chance but rather was likely to be the case for the broader population. The attitudes toward quotas for women were, however, significantly related ($p < 0.05$) to their sociopolitical context, organization, and the interaction of training with the organization. These trends are explained below.

Attitudes toward Representation: Role of Sociopolitical Context

The sociopolitical context of the research participants generally determined whether they opposed or supported quotas for women. Employees were more likely to support quotas if they were from Muzaffarabad than Islamabad. The percentage responses are as follows. Note that support for quotas was clear in both areas but with the unexpected result that more women than men in Islamabad opposed quotas (see table 5.1).

The opposition to quotas was greater in Islamabad than Muzaffarabad. In Islamabad 42 percent of women and 37 percent of men in the sample reported that there should be no quotas for women and that recruitment should be made solely through open competition among all applicants

Table 5.1 Support for quotas for women, percentage of opinions by location and gender

		Muzaffarabad		*Islamabad*	
		Women (%)	*Men (%)*	*Women (%)*	*Men (%)*
Irrelevant		0	0	3	4
Opposition	Open merit / no quota	11	33	42	37
Support	Yes, for some time	0	8	10	12
	Yes	14	21	14	23
	Yes, respondent gave reasons	75	38	31	24
Total support		89	67	55	59

Note: N = 198

regardless of gender. The last three rows of the table 5.1 show that the support for quotas was greater in Muzaffarabad than Islamabad. In Muzaffarabad a total of 89 percent (14 + 75) women and 67 percent (8 + 21 + 38) men desired quotas for women. These percentages also show that support for quotas was highest among women in Muzaffarabad (89%) where it was also more than for men (67%) but it was lowest in Islamabad (55%) where it was even lower than the percentage of men (59%) supporting quotas for women.[3]

Those who gave reasons for supporting quotas for women usually argued that quotas were necessary because women lagged behind in development: "One gender is behind in development" (Respondent ID: 025). One respondent pointed out that "women participation is very low in public sector" (Respondent ID: 160). Another argued that quotas as affirmative measures were "one of the penetrating strategies" (Respondent ID: 183), meaning that quotas are a key intervention for the elimination of gender inequality in the public sector. The employees explained equitable representation could only be achieved through the formulation and implementation of specific policies. A joint reading of many responses suggests that the implementation of women-specific policies would "ensure more women flow into the public services" (Respondent ID: 010), which would result in "maximum participation of females" (Respondent ID: 002), and as a result "women will get equal status" (Respondent ID: 187). Similarly, employees also speculated about what would happen if specific policies were not adopted, "it means that all the vacancies are advertised for males" (Respondent ID: 008).

The majority of the research participants in Muzaffarabad who had not received gender training had a similar response. One employee, for instance, stated that quotas would help "bridge the gap of gender balance in workplaces" (Respondent ID: 100) and another believed that quotas for women would "empower women" (Respondent ID: 106). Research participants, both without and with gender training, had a common realization that social arrangements disadvantaged women and privileged men through the inequitable distribution of resources such as education, economic deprivation, and fewer opportunities for women. For instance, an employee with training maintained that quotas were needed "till rational distribution of resources is possible" (Respondent ID: 048). Another explained it would improve "creation of job opportunities for women

which would be beneficial" (Respondent ID: 110). Overall, the views of research participants who supported quotas are summed up in the following statements:

> It will not be needed after the provision of equal chances of education and progress. However, a society in which some segment is deprived, quota for women should be made in every sphere so that women could be able to reflect and prove themselves in all spheres of work. (Respondent ID: 193)
>
> As both genders don't have equal access to opportunities, therefore opting for quota-free policies may not work before making a leveled playing field for both. (Respondent ID: 136)

Men and women who opposed quotas and wanted open merit gave a range of reasons for their stance. Generally, men considered quotas as discriminatory and argued that gender equality was about equal opportunities and not about special opportunities for women. There was a fear that the integration of women would result in fewer opportunities for men. There was a realization that quotas could result in a situation in which in some households both men and women would be employed, whereas in others both men and women would be unemployed. An employee summed up the view of men who opposed quotas:

> No. There is a lot of unemployment among men, who are mostly the only bread-earners in the family. No one would prefer a state of affairs where in one household both husband and wife has government jobs while the neighbors have hundred percent unemployment. (Respondent ID: 109)

Women who opposed quotas argued that merit and competition were important. As one employee said, "I do not approve of quotas for any one. Merit is important" (Respondent ID: 093). One reason given by women research participants was that "women have to compete like men in public service" (Respondent ID: 124). The concerns with merit and the emphasis on competition were due to their desire to be understood as able, and so different from women who did not make it into the public sector. Their view, rather than representing the concerns of equality and possibly the

majority of excluded women, was more oriented toward organizational values such as competition, merit, and impartiality.

> Fixing quotas for women would mean giving a certain number of jobs to women in the public sector just because they are women. Instead steps should be taken to ensure that women are provided with equal opportunities of education and to enter public service as men do and they must compete for the job. Quotas should not be reserved for women. It is in itself a form of gender discrimination. It may also lead to selection of undeserving candidates. (Respondent ID: 182)

Attitudes toward Representation: Role of Organization

The support and opposition to quotas was also significantly different across public sector organizations with male-dominated organizations[4] opposing quotas and the less male-dominated organizations generally supporting quotas for women. This is shown in table 5.2.

All the employees both with and without training in the Ministry of Women Development reported that quotas were necessary for the representation of women. A research participant from this ministry was of the view that quotas were needed to offset the adverse effects of social disparities on women so as to bring them up to par with men (Respondent ID: 021). Another supported quotas as a temporary solution but argued that also the "disparities in education should be addressed by taking appropriate measures to increase enrollment rate and overcome the dropout rate" (Respondent ID: 040). The common view was that gender inequality in the public sector was due to lack of opportunities and rights of women. As one research participant from the ministry argued, "Quotas are essential in a country like Pakistan otherwise women would not get their rights in public services" (Respondent ID: 175). Another argued,

> It is a good approach, at least. It will increase the opportunities for women and their participation in public sector. But when we get gender equity/equality then we may not need to fix. (Respondent ID: 041)

In the Education Department a great majority of employees both without and with training (81% and 85%, respectively) wanted quotas for women. In this department the research participants who supported quotas for women

Table 5.2 Support for quotas for women, percentage of opinions by organization and training

	Organization	*Had training (%)*	*Irrelevant (%)*	*No quotas (%)*	*Support quotas (%)*
Support (with training)	Women Development	No	0	0	100
		Yes	0	0	100
	Education	No	0	19	81
		Yes	0	15	85
	Planning and Development	No	12	50	38
		Yes	0	25	75
	Agriculture	No	14	57	29
		Yes	0	37	63
	Services and General Administration	No	0	50	50
		Yes	0	33	67
Opposition (with training)	Industries and Production	No	0	100	0
		Yes	0	100	0
	Health	No	0	33	67
		Yes	0	75	25
	Social Welfare	No	0	20	80
		Yes	0	36	64
	Finance and Statistics	No	11	33	56
		Yes	0	50	50
	Law, Human Rights[a]	No	0	100	0
		Yes	0	0	0

Note: [a]As only one research participant from the Ministry of Law and Human Rights responded to this question, the opposition of that participant who had not received training cannot be generalized.

argued that quotas were a way to "encourage women" (Respondent IDs: 031; 138; 140) and that quotas were needed to facilitate women's participation in the public sector (Respondent IDs: 010; 011; 060; 135; 180) in terms of their appointment (Respondent ID: 012) and having more chances and opportunities (Respondent IDs: 167; 173). Quotas were also considered a means to "increase women's participation in social life" (Respondent ID: 155). There was a realization of male hegemony in society, as one research

participant supporting quotas argued that "women cannot compete [with] menfolk always" (Respondent ID: 050) and another said, "fixed seats everywhere [would help] to avoid encounter" with men (Respondent ID: 017). In a society where "gender discrimination" was rampant (Respondent ID: 125), the "quota-free policies may not work before making a level playing field for both women and men" (Respondent ID: 136). By contrast, the adoption of quotas would allow women to "reflect their worth in a developing society" (Respondent ID: 177), as fixing quotas would enable them to "play the role in the progress of the country" (Respondent ID: 191). Quotas could thus mitigate the negative impact of social arrangements, as well as address gender imbalance in the public sector.

> This is very important especially in our society to empower women. As women get lesser opportunities and exposure for their education and acquiring specific skills that are prerequisite of the jobs, fixing quota for them will help bridge the gap of gender balance in work places. (Respondent ID: 106)

In the Planning and Development Department only 38 percent of employees without training were of the view that quotas were required but training had a positive effect on employees with 75 percent desiring quotas for the representation of women in the public sector. In this department the reasons given by research participants for supporting quotas included that quotas would result in increased participation of women in the public sector (Respondent IDs: 002; 023; 024; 181; 183), there was a need to create opportunities for women because they were lagging behind in development (Respondent IDs: 025; 052; 156; 160), and quotas "will provide opportunities for women empowerment" (Respondent ID: 078) if implemented "in letter and spirit" (Respondent ID: 172). One participant argued that "society is male dominated, to avoid the domination, quota should be necessary" (Respondent ID: 026) and another maintained that fixing quotas "is like giving extra protection till we reach a level where they [women] can compete like equals" (Respondent ID: 022). As at present "women do not have equal opportunities with men in education and other resources" (Respondent ID: 152), provision of education was important (Respondent IDs: 178; 185). Another argued, "Most women do not work after education and after getting married" (Respondent ID: 159). Another stated, "Yes, on the basis of statistical analysis of education

between men and women, quota should be fixed" (Respondent ID: 197). Some argued that women's participation would result in an economic uplift of their family (Respondent IDs: 034; 069) and that "it is need of the time" (Respondent ID: 054). Another participant pointed out that instead of quotas attention needs to be given to the work environment, which is more important (Respondent ID: 015).

Those who opposed quotas argued that there was no need for fixing quotas (Respondent IDs: 020; 067; 082; 085) and that equality already existed (Respondent ID: 097). Other opinions were that quotas are not fair and selection should be on a fair basis (Respondent IDs: 039; 179) and that "merit" was important (Respondent IDs: 086; 092; 093; 098; 099; 132; 189). One participant argued, "I don't agree with quotas, there should be open merit. Whosoever is competent should be given a chance" (Respondent ID: 194). One participant who had received training still believed that "it would adversely affect gender mainstreaming. There should be no quota at any level" (Respondent ID: 033). One participant argued, "Quotas means denying gender equality and it amounts to denying the equal opportunity to men" (Respondent ID: 184).

The support for quotas as a result of training increased in the Agriculture Department and the Services and General Administration Department but it is worth noting that a majority of those in the Agriculture Department and an even percentage of those in the Services and General Administration Department without training opposed quotas for women (see table 5.2). As the majority of employees in these departments have not received training, the result indicates overall opposition to quotas in these departments.

Training seemed to have provoked resistance to quotas for women in other departments. For example, in the Industries and Production Department employees both without and with training opposed quotas for women in the public sector on the grounds that quotas were a form of gender discrimination (Respondent IDs: 065; 107; 157) and "gender biased" (Respondent ID: 066). There was a view that since society is patriarchal and it is for men to earn for the family, the introduction of quotas would result in the unemployment of men.

> Pakistani society is patriarchal one and a man is responsible for bread earning. So, in view of high unemployment ratio in the male, one should keep this fact also in mind. (Respondent ID: 035)

In the Health Department the majority of research participants without training supported quotas as a means to create more job opportunities for women (Respondent IDs: 110; 111; 114; 142; 144; 145; 163; 164) but more research participants who had received training opposed quotas on the grounds that merit was important (Respondent IDs: 001; 018). While the responses of research participants without training indicate generally more support for women quotas in the public sector, the responses of those with training opposing quotas and supporting merit suggest that training results in some level of resistance among both men and women. A male doctor who had not received training pointed to the need for quotas "so that men have more opportunities[5] of jobs" (Respondent ID: 051), indicating the opposition to the progress of women in the Health Department.

In the Social Welfare Department there was less support for quotas among those research participants who had received training than those who had never received gender training, suggesting a rather quota friendly environment and the negative impact of training in terms of participants' opposition to quotas for women. Those without training supported quotas on the grounds of equal opportunity and encouragement for women to join the public sector (Respondent IDs: 103; 104; 105); some even pointed to a criterion for quotas according to population ratio (Respondent ID: 118), which in the case of Pakistan is 49 percent men and 51 percent women; and one even suggested a much larger quota for women: "women quota must be at ¾ ratio. This is the foundation for further gender mainstreaming of women in development" (Respondent ID: 123). Another pointed out that quotas were "affirmative action to achieve the gender parity in public sector. In a male-dominated society where women lack behind in education and skills" (Respondent ID: 166). By contrast, those with training who opposed quotas argued in favor of open merit (Respondent IDs: 042; 057; 058; 074; 078; 158). As one research participant argued, "Open merit can be more better option" (Respondent ID: 045).

In the Finance and Statistics Department the majority of employees without training supported quotas for women but an even percentage of participants with gender training opposed quotas for women, suggesting that training had not the intended effect on the participants. Those who had never received gender training but supported quotas argued that "quotas would improve their [women's] status" (Respondent ID: 102) and that quotas were necessary because women do not have equal opportunities of "education and training" (Respondent ID: 119). Quotas would encourage women to join the public sector (Respondent ID: 148). A participant without training who

favored quotas remarked, "Yes, because female talent must not be wasted" (Respondent ID: 150). By contrast, those who even after training opposed quotas argued in favor of open merit (Respondent IDs: 063; 073; 075). As one research participant with training argued, "There should be open merit, quota for women is gender disparity" (Respondent ID: 072), suggesting that training had provoked resistance in this department to women's increased representation through quotas.

Attitudes toward Extent of Quotas: Role of Training in Level of Employees

The attitudes of research participants toward the extent of women's representation through quotas in the public sector organizations, in univariate analysis, were not found to be significantly related to training ($p > 0.05$), that is, training was not likely to determine the attitudes of research participants. However, training was significantly related ($p < 0.05$) to the organizational level of participants, that is, the support of lower or higher quotas for women as a result of training was influenced by the level of the research participants in the organizational hierarchy. At the middle-management level, attitudes toward the extent of representation of women in the public sector were slightly more unfavorable for participants who had received training (see table 5.3).

The attitudes of participants at the middle-management level (BPSs 17 and 18) with training were less favorable toward quotas compared to those at this level without training, which shows a small but significant negative

Table 5.3 Support for quotas for women, public service levels, and training

Level of support for quotas for women		*Position (BPS)*	*Training*	*No response (%)*	*Support (%) for 0%–25% quotas for women*	*Support (%) for 26%–51% quotas for women*
Middle management	Less support	17	No	26	29	45
			Yes	34	24	42
		18	No	46	18	36
			Yes	24	46	30
Senior management	More support	19	No	78	22	0
			Yes	31	13	56

effect of training at this level. At the senior-management level (BPS 19) none of the research participants without training desired 26 to 51 percent quotas for women but 56 percent of research participants who had received training reported that 26 to 51 percent quotas for women were needed to make progress toward the enhanced representation of women in the public sector. This shows that while training clearly had a positive impact on the attitudes of research participants at the senior level, it had a small negative impact on those at the lower level.

In summary, the patterns of support and opposition to quotas, rather than having a significant relation to training, differed significantly according to the sociopolitical context of the research participants, with more support in the case of participants from Muzaffarabad than Islamabad, and more from senior- than middle-management levels. The data also indicated a considerable resistance to quotas, especially if the research participants were from Islamabad, and it is worth noting that the majority of research participants in senior positions who had not received gender training opposed quotas for women, which points to the opposition to quotas at the senior-management level, because not many at the senior level had received gender training. The opposition by men and women at the middle-management levels points to occupational closure, which is characterized by a conflict of interest of participants (men and women) with other women for a monopoly over existing opportunities and the elite status. The participants at the senior-management level without training opposed quotas for women, and the support by the tiny minority at this level having undergone training merely reflects patriarchal benevolence, because the elite status and the monopoly over opportunities of these participants was not at risk as a result of the changes proposed for the entry level of public sector organizations. These findings will be analyzed and discussed in chapter 6.

Attitudes toward Access to Resources

In univariate analysis, "Training" was not found to be significantly related ($p > 0.05$) to research participants' attitudes toward the need and identification of policies and steps for achieving progress toward gender equality. However, gender was significantly related ($p < 0.05$) to training, in that more women than men identified that pro-women policies were needed for gender equality in the public sector, suggesting that the impact of training on gender was significant and was unlikely to have occurred due to chance.

The organizations of the research participants were also significantly related ($p < 0.05$) to the extent that they identified changes and measures required for achieving progress toward gender equality in the public sector. These findings are presented below.

Attitudes toward Identification of Changes Needed: Influence of Training on Gender

The attitude of employees in terms of the identification of policies for progress toward gender equality was found to be a function of the influence of training on the gender of respondents, with women affected more than men. This is illustrated in table 5.4.

Table 5.4 shows that 28 percent of women without training and 23 percent with training were of the view that equality existed between men and women in the public sector and there was no need to change policies, which suggests some effect of training (though little) on both men and women. Similarly, 35 percent of the men in the sample who were without training reported that there was no need for gender equality policies and that they were already equal. But 27 percent of men who had received training still believed that there was no need for change in policies for achieving progress toward equality and that inequality was not an issue. However, the greater effect of training was in terms of participants pointing out policies for change, including promotion quotas and facilities, where 39 percent of women without training supported policies around promotion quotas and facilities and 50 percent of women with gender training supported these policies. This suggests a positive effect of training on women in terms of the identification of

Table 5.4 Percentage demand for changes in policies

Gender	*Training*	*Not applicable (only male/ female) (%)*	*No need (already equal) (%)*	*Equal opportunities (%)*	*Need for quotas/ facilities (%)*	*Need for gender equality policy changes (%)*
Women	No	21	28	6	39	6
	Yes	8	23	4	50	15
Men	No	9	35	13	33	10
	Yes	21	27	8	29	15

issues that need to be resolved through policy action. The comparison of the responses of men in this category without and with training shows that relatively more men without training, that is, 33 percent, demanded such policies but fewer with training, that is, 29 percent, desired policies for promotion quotas and facilities for women. This indicates that training provoked some resistance to the adoption of such policies. There was a positive effect for policy change for both male and female participants if they had received training (15% each) than if they had not received training (6% and 10%, respectively).

Many issues were identified on which policy action or implementations were required to achieve equality. They included the lack of childcare (Respondent IDs: 045; 053), the timely promotion from lower rank to senior rank (Respondent ID: 170), posting to the family stations[6] (Respondent ID: 184), prompt responses to administrative problems (Respondent ID: 053), fair distribution of jobs and the extent of the representation of women in them, adherence to office timings, incentives and assigning of duties (Respondent ID: 131), leadership roles (Respondent IDs: 130; 137), and equal opportunity of training and skills for capacity building (Respondent IDs: 089; 122; 117). As one respondent said, there was "discrimination in assigning duties to women" (Respondent ID: 143). Another made a general comment that there was a need for "incentives for women to compete with the male staff" (Respondent ID: 141).

Research participants also pointed out the need to solve issues including the lack of facilities in offices[7] such as the absence of ladies' toilets[8] (Respondent IDs: 053; 058) and rest/recreation spaces in offices (Respondent IDs: 082; 110). Transport arrangements were also needed to be made for women (Respondent IDs: 086; 114). There was also a view that office timings must be strictly observed and women must not be compelled to stay late in offices (Respondent ID: 198). One female employee responding to the common accusation that women left the office on time while men did not, which implied that men were hard-working and best suited for institutions, argued that during office hours women stayed at their desks while men moved from office to office and thus wasted time (Respondent ID: 016). Another stated that working in an office did not relieve them from their household chores, including the upbringing and education of children (Respondent ID: 015). She pointed out that when she stayed in the office until late at night along

with male colleagues during the budget making process, her children were neglected. She did it only to make sure that no one raised the issue that women cannot work until late in the office. For another woman, equality could be achieved only by "overcoming the tempting instincts of harassment" against women (Respondent ID: 136). But it seemed that all these issues were considered by some men as excuses on the part of women, which made them unfit for recruitment into the public sector. As a male employee remarked,

> While recruiting the persons we think that this lady is not suitable for this job because she will not work. And we should look at the other side of the picture that most of the girls who work in offices, they generally leave before 2:30 p.m. [official time]. Now that is another thing that if someone makes them sit late that will be discrimination, that's true. But while the general atmosphere of the office is such that everybody in the office is sitting at least up to 4 o'clock then our female colleagues they do not like to sit even five minutes after 2:30 p.m. . . . So this is the thing which stops us to recruit the female candidates because they will frequently go on leave. They will have a number of excuses, for example, my child is sick, there are so many; sometimes they don't need any excuse. (Respondent ID: 184)

There was an economic dimension as the study found a trade-off between women's decision to pursue a career in the public sector and being willing to arrange and pay for childcare, rather than having their husbands' and the broader household's income contributing to the cost of childcare. While the government of Pakistan pays equal wages to women and men, the responses of women participants indicated that as no subsidy was given to women or men for childcare, the costs of childcare were disproportionately borne by women, rather than their husbands. The research participants indicated that when the women paid for childcare, men were able to generate surplus value by not paying for the care of their children.

> In my staff there is no day care facility, hence the same amount of salary paid to male and female certainly overburdens female or result in less income. (Respondent ID: 036)

Attitudes toward Identification of Changes Needed: Role of Organizations

The study found that organization rather than training[9] was the significant factor in relation to the attitudes of participants toward the identification of changes and measures required for achieving progress toward gender equality in the public sector.

Research participants were more likely to favor the status quo and believe that changes in policies were not needed if they were from more male-dominated organizations with no exposure to gender equality discourse. This is shown in table 5.5.

Table 5.5 shows that there was more demand for change in some departments than others. All the participants from the Ministry of Women Development, even without gender training, wanted policies around quotas and facilities for women. Also, 75 percent of those with gender training desired the adoption of gender equality policies for achieving progress toward gender equality, suggesting the attitudes toward change in policies were highly favorable there. One participant pointed out that "there is no day care facility" (Respondent ID: 036) and another argued that "promotion quotas are needed" (Respondent ID: 040). The gender-trained participants in this ministry were of the view that more awareness of gender issues coupled with policies to that effect were required (Respondent IDs: 041; 175).

Similarly, training had generally a positive impact on participants from the Education Department, as slightly more with training than without it expressed the need for policies around promotion quotas and facilities, and whereas no research participant without training expressed the need for the adoption of gender equality policies, 12 percent with training did so. In this department slightly more research participants without training than with it were of the view that there was no need for such policies and they were already equal. A participant without training, for instance, argued that "we are blessed people in this case that in our department there is no gender discrimination" (Respondent ID: 138) and others also believed this (Respondent IDs: 109; 125; 127; 173; 187). Similar views were expressed by those with gender training. As one participant remarked, "Nothing [like discrimination, I am] working in a very good atmosphere" (Respondent ID: 167), meaning that there was no need for a change in policies and pointing rather to the better environment of the ministry.

Table 5.5 Need for change in policies and practices, percentage responses by organizations

Demand for change	*Organizations*	*Had Training*	*Not applicable (%)*	*No need (already equal) (%)*	*Need equal treatment (%)*	*Need promotion quotas/ facilities (%)*	*Need gender equality policies (%)*
More demand	Women Development	No	0	0	0	100	0
		Yes	0	0	0	25	75
	Law, Human Rights	No	0	0	0	50	50
		Yes	0	0	0	100	0
	Education	No	38	31	8	23	0
		Yes	35	23	6	24	12
	Planning and Development	No	0	43	36	21	0
		Yes	15	11	11	44	19
	Services and General Administration	No	0	0	0	67	33
		Yes	0	50	0	50	0
Less demand	Health	No	0	50	10	30	10
		Yes	0	50	0	50	0
	Finance and Statistics	No	0	50	0	50	0
		Yes	0	50	17	33	0
	Social Welfare	No	22	12	0	44	22
		Yes	31	23	0	31	15
	Agriculture	No	20	60	0	20	0
		Yes	14	43	14	29	0
	Industries and Production	No	0	100	0	0	0
		Yes	0	100	0	0	0
	Services and General Administration	No	0	0	0	67	33
		Yes	0	50	0	50	0

Those who argued for the need for gender equality policies gave different suggestions. One participant suggested that "males and females should be involved in all decision making processes" (Respondent ID: 169), and another was of the view that "equality in staff policies and practices" was required (Respondent ID: 009). There was a realization that women's participation at higher levels was required (Respondent IDs: 011; 090; 106; 135). One participant argued that "job opportunities should be created" for women (Respondent ID: 010). Another argued that this was so because "males are more dominant on top positions" (Respondent ID: 172). The responses suggested the positive attitudes of participants, regardless of training, toward the need for change in this department.

Training also had a positive impact in the Planning and Development Department where 43 percent of participants who had not received training believed there was no need for change, but only 11 percent with training did so. Typical responses were, "There is no inequality in my office between male and female" (Respondent ID: 069) or "I have not experienced/noticed such inequality" (Respondent ID: 093), and as such they believed that there was no need for gender equality policies (Respondents IDs: 097; 098; 194; 198). Similarly, 36 percent of those without training were of the view that equal treatment rather than policies was needed but only 11 percent with training had this view, suggesting a rather positive impact of training. The participants were of the view that policies around recruitment and promotion quotas were required (Respondent IDs: 002; 003; 023; 024; 048) and those with training were of the view that gender equality policies were required. One participant was of the view that policies must be enacted to effect change in "social thinking" (Respondent ID: 015) and another argued that "it is a matter of change in mentality which is innate or if it [change] is possible even then it needs 20–30 years" (Respondent ID: 156). However, others believed that change can be effected through increased female participation, "Female recruitment should be encouraged; it will help normalizing attitude of society toward working women" (Respondent ID: 022). Another argued for "changing social values and inducting more women in services" (Respondent ID: 054), thus suggesting the social construction of gender and the role that policies can play toward achievement of gender equality.

There was also a view that the internal environment of the public sector could be improved through the provision of facilities for women, as it is the lack of attention to the problems faced by women that perpetuates inequality in the public sector (Respondent ID: 034). The facilities suggested including

separate rooms for women in offices because the ones they were working in were crowded with many men and few women (Respondent IDs: 082; 088; 092). As one participant said, "Provision of requisite physical facilities like separate rooms and office equipment (computer etc.)" (Respondent ID: 033). One participant said, "Child day care. Women with children would be able to concentrate on work better" (Respondent ID: 099). "Women's hostels" (Respondent ID: 181) were also suggested, indicating that the drive for gender equality requires change on all fronts including the redesigning of women unfriendly offices in the public sector and the provision of childcare at the workplace. Attention to these aspects is necessary for the provision of "conducive environment for females" (Respondent ID: 185). Another argued that "posting procedures of women employees should be easy, as that they should not face family problems and have to quit jobs" (Respondent ID: 160). Another believed that women are not promoted when their turn comes and that "women's promotion is always discouraged" (Respondent ID: 170). One participant arguing for change on all fronts said, "In our department there is dire need to change the whole setup, environment and facilities. Everything should be changed" (Respondent ID: 132). Another believed that in its present shape the Planning and Development Department was not suitable for women:

> Over and above working, working on holidays, uncertain timings and immediate working nature, is the reason the Planning and Development Department is not fit/suitable for women. (Respondent ID: 149)

This meant that working conditions, such as time at the office, rather than being governed by official policies were often subject to the workload, which gave power to the bosses to direct women to work beyond official office hours.

Training also provoked some resistance to change in other departments such as Services and General Administration, Health, Finance and Statistics, and Social Welfare, and the resistance was even greater in the Agriculture Department and the Industries and Production Department (see table 5.5). In the Agriculture Department, 60 percent of employees without training argued that there was no need for a change in policies and even after training 43 percent continued to believe there was no need for a change, suggesting strong opposition to change. The typical response was that there was "no inequality in our office" (Respondent ID: 029). Gender inequality was not

considered an issue in the Agriculture Department (Respondent IDs: 027; 077; 154; 186; 195). One participant suggested a criterion of "strictness of duties and appreciation for willing workers" (Respondent ID: 038), implying that women were not willing workers and duties for them were not strict. Similarly, attitudes toward change in policies for progress toward gender equality, regardless of gender training, were negative for the participants from the Industries and Production Department, suggesting no impact of training as well as a strong resistance to change. As one participant said, "No policy needs to be changed" (Respondent ID: 035). A male participant from this department argued that "since there are only two or three women officers, no need for such change" (Respondent ID: 157), suggesting that the exclusion of women from the public sector is used by men in male-dominated organizations to sustain their privilege and resist change in policies.

The above results show that awareness of the need for change in policies irrespective of the training status of the research participants depended on which organization they worked for. The majority of organizations were male dominated, but those organizations with some degree of inclusion of women and exposure to gender discourse were more likely to support a change in policies than those that had traditionally excluded women or have remained alienated to gender equality interventions. In these latter organizations, employees favor the status quo and believe that no change in policies is required.

Attitudes toward the Need for Women-specific Strategies: Influence of Training on Level of Employees

The opinions of research participants regarding the need for a strategy for encouraging a work environment for women in univariate analysis were not significantly related to training alone; nevertheless training was found to be significantly related to the level of employees, with employees at a higher level in favor of adopting women-specific strategies to achieve progress toward gender equality in the public sector. The level of significance ($p > 0.05$) shows that the attitudes of research participants at different levels of the organizational hierarchy were due to training and were unlikely to have occurred by chance. Attitudes were more favorable for research participants who had received training and were from the higher organizational level (see table 5.6). At the lower level the attitudes of research participants who had received training were unfavorable, with more emphasis on adopting equal opportunity policies rather than pro-women policies.

Table 5.6 Need for women-specific strategies by level of employees and training

Level of demand		*Position (BPS)*	*Training*	*Not Applicable (%)*	*No—we have equality (%)*	*Yes (without giving reasons) (%)*	*Emphasis on equal opportunities (%)*	*Demand women-specific policies (%)*
Middle management	Less demand	17	No	10	11	21	13	45
			Yes	0	10	21	24	45
		18	No	4	0	17	22	57
			Yes	5	17	17	14	47
Senior management	More demand	19	No	0	29	13	29	29
			Yes	0	0	13	0	87

The attitudes of participants at the middle-management level (BPSs 17 and 18) with training were not more favorable toward the need for women-specific policies than those at this level without training, which shows a small negative effect of training at this level. At the middle-management level (BPS 17), an equal number of research participants (45%), both with and without training, were of the view that women-specific policies were required but at the next higher level of middle management (BPS 18), more employees without training (57%) and less with training (47%) wanted the adoption of women-specific policies. The reasons given by those at the middle-management level (BPSs 17 and 18) for opposing quotas included a belief that there was no disparity or inequality (Respondent IDs: 027; 029). There was a view that women in the public sector faced "no barriers" (Respondent ID: 005). One research participant maintained, "There is no such issue" (Respondent ID: 068). Some men were of the view that if there was any inequality it related to the preferential treatment of women, because while both men and women received equal salary "men worked for more hours than women" (Respondent ID: 184). It was stated that women were favored, "I believe the young women get more advantages as compared to young men" (Respondent ID: 032) and "Women have to change themselves. They should be bold enough to work at odd hours" (Respondent ID: 171). A male respondent desired a "strictness of duties and appreciation for willing [women] workers" (Respondent ID: 038).

At the senior-management level of BPS 19, only 29 percent of employees without gender training were of the view that women-specific policies were required but this percentage increased substantially to 87 percent of the respondents who had received gender training, which shows a significant

positive effect of training on the attitudes of participants at the senior-management level toward the need for the adoption of women-specific policies. At the middle-management level of BPS 17, almost 13 percent of the participants without training emphasized that rather than women-specific policies, equal opportunity policies must be implemented. The rate for employees in this level who had received training even rose to 24 percent, which indicates opposition to women-specific policies by these employees. At the middle-management level of BPS 18, whereas 22 percent of the participants without training wanted equal opportunity policies, the rate of those who wanted that declined to 14 percent, which indicates some positive effect of training at this level. At the senior-management level (BPS 19), 29 percent of the participants without gender training wanted the implementation of equal opportunity policies but none of those with gender training wanted that, and more wanted women-specific policies, which shows a positive impact of training at the senior-management level. At the senior-management level (BPS 19), the reasons given by those with training for their desire for the adoption of women-specific policies included ensuring fair selection processes (Respondent ID: 010) and improving women's access to resources (Respondent ID: 011). A women-specific policy for "transportation to and from workplace" was identified (Respondent ID: 022). There was a view that women must be given financial incentives to encourage their retention in the public sector (Respondent ID: 158). A policy was required for the provision of a childcare facility (Respondent ID: 048). Women's accommodation needs needed to be met through the establishment of "working women's hostels" (Respondent ID: 015). In the public sector there was a need for a "code of conduct" (Respondent ID: 183). Another pointed out that at the wider social level there were constraints to women's safety in the public space and their concern about mobility needed addressing (Respondent IDs: 181; 189).

Both the opposition to women-specific policies at the middle-management level and the policies identified for adoption at the senior-management level converged on one point:

> Strategy is a must. Prevailing setup is heavily male oriented and needs reforming/restructuring to accommodate female staff concerns/needs. (Respondent ID: 061)

In summary, the resistance to the provision of resources to women was more frequent among men at the middle-management level, suggesting

occupational closure is caused by their claims on the monopoly of social and institutional resources as the basis of their continued privilege in the public sector. As the interests of men and women to secure resources directly clashed with one another, more men tended to oppose measures for women's access to resources. In higher positions where the interests of the participants and their institutional privilege were not compromised, those with training supported women's increased access to resources. However, with the existence of constraints, the lack of access to resources and the considerably less support for pro-women policies in those without gender training at the senior-management level, the concessions granted as a result of training at this level are merely patriarchal benevolence.

Overall, the results relating to women's lack of access to resources indicated that both state and family institutions put severe constraints in the way of women, which disenfranchise them. The results suggested that the integration of women in institutions, though desirable, was not sufficient in itself because it did not transform the patriarchal institutions. Integrated women faced material and structural constraints in terms of access to resources as identified above. These findings are analyzed and discussed in chapter 6.

Institutional Practices

The third issue that the study examined was how the policy approach of gender training relates to the practices of employees in the public sector of Pakistan. Respondents both with and without gender training were queried as to activities such as arranging meetings, spending time on matters of organizational interest, addressing gender issues, and the prevalence of discrimination and sexual harassment (see Appendix 1, "Interview Questionnaire"). The assumption was that the positive effect of training would mean a change in these organizational practices. However, the study found that training was not significantly related to these practices and that institutional inertia prevailed in organizations. This is explained below.

Meetings on Gender Issues: No Significant Effect of Training

The study found that despite some positive effects of gender training, it was not significantly related to the number of meetings held on gender issues by the participants. While the majority of the participants without training reported not to have held even one meeting, a considerably large

percentage of research participants with gender training also reported not to have held meetings on gender. Similarly, the number of meetings held by those who claimed to have held such meetings was too small over a period of two years to warrant any significance as a result of training. This suggested that despite the rhetoric of the government and the donor agencies about changing behavior, in reality institutional inertia prevailed in the public sector.

Table 5.7 shows the pervasiveness of institutional inertia resulting in lack of action on gender inequality in the public sector of Pakistan. The majority of employees with and without training did not arrange even one meeting to highlight gender issues at workplaces, suggesting that gender was not a priority in the public sector organizations. The most common

Table 5.7 Gender meetings held in two years

Organizations	*Had training*	*No gender meeting (%)*	*No need/issue (%)*	*Up to 5 gender meetings (%)*	*More than 5 meetings (%)*
Women Development	No	50	0	50	0
	Yes	25	0	25	50
Services and General Administration	No	100	0	0	0
	Yes	50	0	25	25
Planning and Development	No	100	0	0	0
	Yes	65	0	19	16
Agriculture	No	100	0	0	0
	Yes	75	0	13	12
Social Welfare	No	100	0	0	0
	Yes	63	0	31	6
Education	No	100	0	0	0
	Yes	60	0	35	5
Health	No	100	0	0	0
	Yes	50	0	50	0
Finance and Statistics	No	88	0	12	0
	Yes	83	0	17	0
Industries and Production	No	100	0	0	0
	Yes	75	25	0	0
Law, Human Rights	No	100	0	0	0
	Yes	100	0	0	0

responses of participants were "no" and "nil" (Respondent IDs: 001; 003; 007; 011; 014; 028; 058; 068; 082; 103; 122; 147; 151; 157; 184).

However, training had more positive effects in the Ministry of Women Development, the Services and General Administration Department, and the Planning and Development Department, and some positive effect in the Agriculture Department, the Social Welfare Department, and the Education Department, where some research participants who had received gender training claimed to have arranged more than five meetings over a period of two years. In the Ministry of Women Development, those who had conducted meetings were of the view that because it is a Women's Ministry the job requires work on women's rights. As one participant argued, "Ministry of Women Development (MOWD) is actively working on women's rights" (Respondent ID: 040). The reason for being in this ministry and not holding meetings was the level of the employee in the ministry. One said, "I do not conduct meetings because I am junior but discuss issues in an informal manner" (Respondent ID: 041). Conducting meetings on gender was considered to be a job-specific task. As one research participant from the Services and General Administration Department who did not conduct any meeting on gender argued, "Did not arrange any. Was not required. This task is done by Social Welfare Department" (Respondent ID: 146), suggesting that gender is a specific rather than a horizontal concern across all public sector organizations.

Many participants in the Social Welfare Department did not organize meetings on gender (Respondent IDs: 042; 043; 045; 047; 053; 058; 059; 076; 103; 104; 105; 118; 122; 123; 124; 161; 165; 166; 174). Others had arranged up to five meetings in a period of two years (Respondent IDs: 044; 046; 064; 074; 176). One participant pointed out that it was due to the gender-specific work that the meetings were arranged, "Most of the services being provided to social welfare projects are gender balanced, so evaluation of their progress of course requires meetings" (Respondent ID: 158).

Those in the Planning and Development Department who arranged meetings on gender issues also did so in relation to their work. As one research participant pointed out, "Some meetings with NGOs and INGOs [international nongovernmental organizations] have been conducted" (Respondent ID: 026). Another pointed out that it was in relation to the gender mainstreaming projects (Respondent ID: 032) and another said that it was in relation to "many projects which came to me for evaluation"

(Respondent ID: 170). A participant mentioned the apathy toward holding meetings on gender issues with a view to solving them and the appropriation of the gender mandate by the senior managers with donor-funded money, maintaining,

> Not a single meeting, seminar, symposium and workshop were conducted for the officers, but special facilities are provided and foreign tours are arranged for selected people (nondeserving officials), which is not result oriented. (Respondent ID: 149)

In the Agriculture Department the majority did not arrange meetings on gender (Respondents IDs: 019; 027; 028; 029; 061; 077; 108; 186). Those who conducted such meetings believed it was in relation to the nature of their job. One participant said, “Many informal [meetings]. Being Director (Planning), I prepare gender-related projects” (Respondent ID: 037), suggesting that within organizations gender is the special concern of a few individuals rather than a horizontal concern, effectively resulting in the gender blindness of the rest of the organization.

There was general disbelief in the Industries and Production Department, where gender was not considered an issue. One participant said, “No issue hence no need” (Respondent ID: 066). In the Health Department and the Finance and Statistics Department, participants who either did or did not arrange meetings did not give any specific reasons. The data suggests that employees only engage in gender equality work if it is part of their official job, but when they do engage, as in the Planning and Development Department, it may simply be an appropriation of gender equality through foreign-funded projects for maximizing self privileges by the key decision makers in organizations.

Time Spent on Gender Issues: Role of Organizations

The findings that gender equality is not an organizational priority in the public sector of Pakistan and that institutional inertia prevails are consistent with the responses of participants about the time they spent on gender issues in one month. This is shown in table 5.8. Some organizations and individuals mandated with gender equality work do engage in gender equality work, but the majority of organizations and individuals within organizations continue to be gender blind.

Table 5.8 shows that the majority of employees in the public sector organizations do not spend time on gender issues. However, in departments with some exposure to the gender equality debate and the inclusion of women, participants both with and without training reported having spent some time on gender issues. In the Ministry of Women Development, all the research participants regardless of gender training reported to have spent some time on gender issues. This was due to the nature of the employees' work, as a participant working in the policy section of the Ministry of Women Development explained, "I am working in policy research section so during office hours, all time is spent on gender issues" (Respondent ID: 040). Another participant argued that "more than eight hours [in

Table 5.8 Time spent on gender issues in 30 days (%)

Organizations	*Had training*	*No time spent (%)*	*Up to 1 hr. (%)*	*Up to 3 hrs. (%)*	*Up to 6 hrs. (%)*	*More than 8 hrs. (%)*	*Total % spending some time*
Women Development	No	0	50	0	0	50	100
	Yes	0	0	0	0	100	100
Services and General Administration	No	75	25	0	0	0	25
	Yes	68	15	17	0	0	32
Planning and Development	No	81	5	14	0	0	19
	Yes	60	19	6	3	12	40
Agriculture	No	100	0	0	0	0	0
	Yes	75	25	0	0	0	25
Social Welfare	No	82	9	9	0	0	18
	Yes	47	12	23	12	6	53
Education	No	81	13	6	0	0	19
	Yes	50	30	10	5	5	50
Health	No	90	10	0	0	0	10
	Yes	84	8	0	0	8	16
Finance and Statistics	No	90	10	0	0	0	10
	Yes	33	50	0	17	0	67
Industries and Production	No	100	0	0	0	0	0
	Yes	100	0	0	0	0	0
Law, Human Rights	No	100	0	0	0	0	0
	Yes	100	0	0	0	0	0

one month]. The current job is relevant to the gender issues (Women Development)" (Respondent ID: 021). Another said, "Being an employee of the M/O [Ministry of] Women Development we work all the time for gender" (Respondent ID: 117). Another supported this view, "working in Ministry of Women Development" (Respondent ID: 175), suggesting that employees spend time if work on gender equality is part of their organizational mandate. There was also evidence that such work may not involve issues internal to the organizations, as one participant clarified, "Working in Ministry of Women Development so dealing these issues, but these are not internal issues" (Respondent ID: 036).

This is supported by evidence from other departments. One participant from the Planning and Development Department said, "My job is in gender component. So my daily duty circles around gender equality, equity, and mainstreaming process" (Respondent ID: 026). Another maintained, "As part of my job I deal with development related gender issues on a daily basis" (Respondent ID: 183). By contrast, another participant from the same department maintained not to have spent time on gender issues "because of other assignments" (Respondent ID: 032). Another said that "only separate section is doing this. [Gender related] task(s) not highlighted in my section properly" (Respondent ID: 194), suggesting that gender in this department is also a special issue for some jobs, not a horizontal concern of all employees. Another research participant, who had received training, added an interesting dimension to spending time on gender by stating that "mostly during the time I carry out transfers and posting[s] of female[s]" (Respondent ID: 156), suggesting that gender meant female.

Gender training had a more positive effect in the Social Welfare Department where more research participants with gender training reported to have spent time on gender issues. A participant claimed to have spent time in "improving skill development services for destitute poor women" (Respondent ID: 158), which is the mandate of the Social Welfare Department. One participant who had not spent time on gender issues argued it was "because of workload. I don't have spare time" (Respondent ID: 059). Another argued, "I have been engaged in other duties" (Respondent ID: 123).

Similarly, a research participant from the Education Department who had not spent time on gender issues argued, "I was not asked to work on it. Just in discussion whenever it happens to come [up] I just comment on it" (Respondent ID: 017), suggesting that gender in organizations is discussed

in passing rather than as a serious issue. Another maintained that it was due to lack of authority—"only discussion, because I am not in authority"—(Respondent ID: 031). It appeared that the effect of training in this department was in terms of some sort of moral obligation that they must do something about gender, but action remained limited. One participant with training who claimed to have spent time on gender issues maintained that it was restricted to "general discussion with colleagues" (Respondent ID: 167), suggesting that training in some instances may change attitudes but action is limited by structural constraints such as the lack of a gender equality mandate by organizations. A male participant, who wanted to stay aloof from gender equality work due to the rise of right-wing conservative trends in the country, said, "Women and men working together is against the faith of these people. Therefore I do not want to be a victim of these baton carrying forces" (Respondent ID: 193).

Training had a positive impact on research participants from the Finance and Statistics Department. However, 50 percent of those with training reported to have spent only up to one hour on gender issues. One participant claimed, "One hour is sufficient to achieve the goal" (Respondent ID: 004). Others did not generally give any specific reason for spending some time after gender training on gender issues. All the participants from the Industries and Production Department, regardless of training, reported not having spent time on gender issues, as they believed that gender inequality was "not an issue" (Respondent IDs: 035; 066; 107; 157) or that there was "no inequality" (Respondent IDs: 065; 087), suggesting that organizations not exposed to gender equality discourse or those that have traditionally excluded women continue to do so by fostering the belief that inequality is not real.

Time Spent: Role of Management

With the caveat that the research participants generally did not spend time on gender issues in the public sector unless it was part of their organizational mandate, the univariate analysis found a statistically significant pattern between the level of the participants and the time spent on gender issues, with participants at the senior-management level spending slightly more time on gender issues than those at the middle-management level. The level of significance ($p < 0.05$) meant that time spent by research-participant employees at a management level was not due to chance and that employees

Table 5.9 Time spent on gender issues by level of employees

	Position (BPS)	*No time spent (%)*	*Up to 1 hr. (%)*	*Up to 3 hrs. (%)*	*Up to 6 hrs. (%)*	*> 8 hrs. (%)*	*Total % time spent*
Middle management	17	70	18	4	3	5	30
	18	63	16	12	2	7	37
Senior management	19	60	20	8	4	8	40

at the middle-management level in the broader population were likely to have spent less time whereas employees at the senior-management level in the population were likely to have spent more time on gender issues. This is shown in table 5.9.

Table 5.9 shows that at middle-management level (BPSs 17 and 18), 30 and 37 percent of employees claimed to have spent some time on gender issues, but slightly more, that is, 40 percent, of those at senior-management level did so. The nature of the issues on which time was spent at the senior-management level included processing requests for the transfer of female staff (Respondent ID: 010), official responsibility for gender mainstreaming (Respondent ID: 033), a discussion of gender issues with junior staff (Respondent ID: 115), skills development for poor women (Respondent ID: 158), and as part of the job (Respondent ID: 183). At the middle-management level the relevance of the job emerged as the most likely reason for spending time on gender issues, as one participant on BPS 17 stated, "The current job is relevant to gender issues" (Respondent ID: 021). This was also the case for a participant from the Ministry of Women Development, for whom "being an employee" of the ministry was the reason for spending time on gender issues (Respondent ID: 117). This reason was also advanced by others at the middle-management level who claimed to have spent some time on gender issues (Respondent IDs: 026; 041; 191). By contrast, the general nature of the job was the main reason given for not engaging in gender equality work or spending time on gender issues, as a participant at the senior-management level in the Agriculture Department explained:

> Our job assignments are so generalized that these issues [gender issues] figure nowhere and do not matter as such. If gender issue[s] are to be addressed, these should be institutionalized so that issues are properly screened. I am chief of agriculture, and I process projects of agriculture

> sector. And my sector is particularly so important that let me say 90 percent contribution is of women.[10] But the kind of documents [project] which come to me, in those I can do nothing with respect to this gender...I think two steps should be taken simultaneously at a very improved higher level.[11] That is one step is the awareness raising, and second, really some policies need to be in place to really promote [resolve] gender issues in this country. (Respondent ID 003)

Training did not result in a change in organizational practices because it merely focused on attributes of individuals for scrutiny and change and ignored the attributes of organizations in the form of mandates that shape the practices of employees. The centrality of organizational policies in shaping the gender approach of organizations was explained by a gender-trained employee as follows:

> In trainings people were somewhat sensitized as to what gender issues are. Now to implement these until government does not make a policy, our officers or bureaucracy do not understand [policy] until government gives a clear guideline. Now until government makes a policy and asks us to implement in black and white, no person will either attend to or work on gender issues. If a policy from top is made and directed that such and such things must be seen in project proposals, till that time no one will do any work [on gender issues]. The rest of the people who got training were told what gender issues are, before these nobody knew what gender is, right. (Respondent ID: 015)

In sum, it is the lack of a gender equality mandate and policies that restrict employees in how they can work on gender equality. To the staff it is the organizational policies that shape the practices of individuals. The organizations under the study, with the exception of Women's Development and to some extent the Social Welfare Department, did not have a gender equality mandate and were not exposed to gender and development discourse, thus training had little effect on the practices of the research participants.

Gender Discrimination in the Public Sector: Role of Training and Organizations

In the univariate analysis, the opinions of research participants about the presence of discrimination in the workplace was found to be significantly

related ($p < 0.05$) to the influence of training with the organization, that is, opinions about discrimination changed as a result of training and this was not due to chance. Table 5.10 shows the trends.

All the respondents in the sample from Women Development Department who had not received training reported that there was no discrimination and they had not seen discrimination at their workplace. One research participant from this ministry said, "No I do not think so" (Respondent ID: 117). This was also the view of the majority of those who had received gender training (Respondent IDs: 036; 040; 117; 129; 175). However, some with gender training seemed to have a slightly different view, as one research participant who had received training said, "As far as my own working is concerned there I found no discrimination, but some other female staff complain about less recognition of their work" (Respondent

Table 5.10 Perceptions on gender discrimination (%)

Organizations	*Had training*	*Do not know (%)*	*No, not seen (%)*	*Yes, it is (%)*
Women Development	No	0	100	0
	Yes	0	60	40
Services and General Administration	No	0	50	50
	Yes	0	100	0
Planning and Development	No	10	65	25
	Yes	0	45	55
Agriculture	No	0	100	0
	Yes	0	63	37
Social Welfare	No	11	56	33
	Yes	0	93	7
Education	No	7	47	46
	Yes	4	77	19
Health	No	0	75	25
	Yes	0	50	50
Finance and Statistics	No	0	100	0
	Yes	0	50	50
Industries and Production	No	0	100	0
	Yes	50	0	50
Law, Human Rights	No	0	100	0
	Yes	50	50	0

ID: 021). Another with training agreed, "Yes, there is, but less as compared to others [departments]. It is with regard to the acceptance level of women at workplace and in general behavior" (Respondent ID: 041), suggesting the subtle nature of discrimination and some effect of training in raising awareness about discrimination.

In the Planning and Development Department the majority of research participants without training claimed that gender discrimination did not exist at their workplaces. One participant categorically said, "Not at all" (Respondent ID: 078). Another remarked that "there is no gender discrimination at our immediate workplace" (Respondent ID: 152), and others also believed that (Respondent IDs: 080; 088; 092; 097; 098; 099; 132). One participant in this category argued that there was no discrimination because "even female[s] are treated on priority" (Respondent ID: 194), but another was of the view that discrimination did exist in terms of "providing more opportunities and facilities to men and in training opportunities given to them" (Respondent ID: 198).

The view of the majority of those who had received gender training was that no gender discrimination existed in their workplaces. One participant who had received training maintained, "I have not seen gender discrimination" (Respondent ID: 002). Another said, "Not observed" (Respondent ID: 003), and others had the same view that there was no discrimination (Respondent IDs: 020; 023; 024; 026; 039; 052; 069; 160; 181). One participant with training in this department denied the prevalence of gender discrimination by arguing that "there is no discrimination at my workplace. Women are more privileged, and are well taken care of" (Respondent ID: 184), suggesting that women were not equal and nothing but material artifacts taken care of by men in organizations. Another argued that while there was no discrimination at the workplace, "the number of working women is very small which reflects overall gender discrimination" (Respondent ID: 185).

Then there were those who believed in the prevalence of gender discrimination. One gave examples of "steering, negative attitude and perception, and sexual advances" (Respondent ID: 015). Another maintained that there was "discrimination on the basis of sex. Negative attitude and perception, and no day care center and transport" (Respondent ID: 016). Another pointed to how gender intersected with jobs to construct discrimination against women: "Job description and gender are usually co-related, some jobs are good for men, and some are considered good for women"

(Respondent ID: 022). Another who had not received gender training supported this view and argued that "discrimination at our office is not 'gender' related but 'grade' related" (Respondent ID: 093), pointing to all the senior-management positions occupied by men. A male participant with gender training who had a women boss argued that discrimination was "not more as previously, as now my boss and related officers are mostly women" (Respondent ID: 156).

Discrimination had many faces—"promotion discrimination, resources allocation discrimination that is office supplies, vehicles etc." (Respondent ID: 025). Another participant had the similar view that there was "no provision of seating places [for women] and other related facilities" (Respondent ID: 033). Discrimination is constituted through the constraints put on women through the lack of institutional frameworks and facilities, as one participant maintained:

> Flexible working hours for women are required to be kept. There is a lack of toilet and pick and drop facility [to and from office] for women. And there is a non-existence of day care center in the ministry. (Respondent ID: 034)

Lack of facilities such as transport and even toilets were the main issues (Respondent ID: 048) and another issue was the lack of appreciation of women's work that "kills their motivation" (Respondent ID: 170). One maintained that "women are not considered competent enough and therefore not entrusted important assignments" (Respondent ID: 183), suggesting women are discriminated against by men.

There was also a view among those with gender training that discrimination was actually against men, "in fact women are dealt softly, and men are dealt harshly by big bosses" (Respondent ID: 032). Another was of the view that "women always enjoy benefits more than men at workplaces" (Respondent ID: 189), indicating unequal gender relations in the public sector. A participant with gender training who denied discrimination was of the view that "women are free to leave office soon after office hours" (Respondent ID: 172), suggesting that men could hold women back in the office after the official hours if and when they desired so.

Other motives were also identified. A participant who had not received gender training pointed to "sexual and psychological discrimination. Women are harassed sexually. Priority is given to those women who could be easily

sexually exploited" (Respondent ID: 086). Further, the feeling that women are being favored could result in recrimination against them by men in the organization. One participant claimed that "gender harassment is usual" in the public sector (Respondent ID: 054). Another was of the view that "female colleagues' personal lives are more discussed and investigated" (Respondent ID: 179). Yet another maintained that discrimination was about "only the masculine nature" (Respondent ID: 067), suggesting that gender is involved in discrimination in more than one way. For example, in the department of Industries and Production, participants continued to have negative views about women even after gender training. One said,

> Female/women worker[s] are not suitable for office work. They always have family, health and have a sense of superiority. Majority is lazy workers and do not attend office regularly etc. (Respondent ID: 066)

Discrimination becomes clouded in the notion of respect, which itself represents an unequal gender relationship in the public sector. For example, all the research participants from the Agriculture Department who had not received training and the majority of those with gender training reported that there was no discrimination, and the reason most often advanced by both men and women was the "respect" accorded to women (Respondent IDs: 051; 070; 089; 167; 173). While many women said they were given respect, some men mixed the notion of respect with that of sympathy as the reason for the absence of discrimination against women. A male employee remarked, "No. Women are always treated sympathetically and it is always tried to make their work easy for them" (Respondent ID: 134), suggesting patriarchal benevolence is exhibited by men, which masks discrimination as such. There was also evidence that discrimination can also be masked due to the nature of the organization. One participant from the Education Department working in an all-women institution remarked, "It is a female institution I am working in" (Respondent ID: 060), and a man in an all-men educational institution maintained, "There is no participation of female gender at my immediate workplace" (Respondent ID: 008).

In summary, gender discrimination in the public sector of Pakistan is subtle as well as explicit. It has many manifestations that relate to the denial of institutional and social resources, the patriarchal practice of sympathy (not equality) toward women, the lack of recognition of women's work, and

the lack of confidence in entrusting women with important assignments. There was also evidence that gender intersected with job levels and that senior officers in organizations were in a position to use their powers arbitrarily, ranging from asking women to stay late at the office to harassment and exploitation, suggesting that discrimination was a reality in the public sector of Pakistan.

Cases of Discrimination Processed: Role of Gender

In the univariate analysis, the cases of discrimination that research participants claimed to have processed and decided over a period of two years were significantly ($p < 0.05$) related to their gender, with men more likely to have processed such cases than women. This was because more men than women hold the key decision-making positions. The level of significance suggested that the relationship between gender and the cases of discrimination processed by the participants was not due to chance and that the findings are applicable to the population beyond the study sample. The cases of discrimination processed by male and female employees in various organizations are given in table 5.11.

Table 5.11 shows that except for the Women Development Department and to some extent the Education Department, generally men dealt with the few cases of discrimination that were processed in the public sector organizations. Men are managers and they hold power in institutions. Further, the majority of female and male employees reported that dealing with cases of discrimination was not applicable to them or that they had not dealt with any case in the last two years, suggesting lack of institutional mechanisms to deal with cases of discrimination. As was pointed out in chapter 4, institutional mechanisms and policies on gender issues are lacking in the public sector of Pakistan. Arguably, had there been institutional mechanisms, more cases could have been reported and the number of cases dealt with by employees in two years would have been much greater. The evidence of discrimination presented in the previous section and the few cases shown in this section both point to insufficient institutional arrangements with regard to issues of discrimination, which results in an informal approach, thus maintaining the status quo and bestowing power and control on men, who in some cases may show patriarchal benevolence by treating women sympathetically, but not equally.

Table 5.11 Cases of discrimination (%)

Organizations	*Gender*	*Not applicable (%)*	*No case (%)*	*1 to 5 cases (%)*
Women Development	F	0	67	33
	M	25	75	0
Services and General Administration	F	67	33	0
	M	71	29	0
Planning and Development	F	67	33	0
	M	48	31	21
Agriculture	F	50	50	0
	M	73	18	9
Social Welfare	F	89	11	0
	M	72	22	6
Education	F	69	25	6
	M	53	42	5
Health	F	67	33	0
	M	25	50	25
Finance and Statistics	F	0	100	0
	M	83	17	0
Industries and Production	F	100	0	0
	M	25	75	0
Law, Human Rights	F	0	100	0
	M	100	0	0

Sexual Harassment in the Public Sector: Role of Organizations

In the univariate analysis, the opinions of the research participants about the occurrence of sexual harassment at their workplace were found to be significantly related ($p < 0.05$) to the employees' organizations. In other words, the different opinions about harassment in different organizations were not due to chance but were due to the nature of the organizations they worked for. Table 5.12 shows the trends.

Table 5.12 shows that the majority of the research participants denied the existence of sexual harassment at their workplace, and that female participants were more inclined to report that sexual harassment did not exist in the public sector organizations. All the female research participants from the Ministry of Women Development were of the view that

Table 5.12 Perceptions on sexual harassment (%)

Organizations	*Gender*	*Not applicable (%)*	*No harassment (%)*	*Yes, it exists (%)*	*Men equally harassed (%)*
Women Development	F	0	100	0	0
	M	0	75	25	
Services and General Administration	F	0	100	0	0
	M	0	100	0	0
Planning and Development	F	13	80	7	0
	M	3	77	13	7
Agriculture	F	0	100	0	0
	M	0	91	9	0
Social Welfare	F	0	100	0	0
	M	6	89	5	0
Education	F	6	88	6	0
	M	10	50	40	0
Health	F	0	100	0	0
	M	0	100	0	0
Finance and Statistics	F	0	100	0	0
	M	0	100	0	0
Industries and Production	F	0	100	0	0
	M	0	100	0	0
Law, Human Rights	F	0	100	0	0
	M	0	100	0	0

there was no sexual harassment at their workplace. One female participant from the Ministry said, "There is not any form of sexual harassment" (Respondent ID: 036). Another pointed out, "There is no such case reported" (Respondent ID: 021). Men were also of the view that sexual harassment did not exist in this ministry. One said, "Not in my knowledge" (Respondent ID: 175). Another said that "there is no sexual harassment" (Respondent ID: 117), but some men argued that sexual harassment did exist, for example, in the form of "unnecessary telephone calls" to female colleagues (Respondent ID: 040).

In the Services and General Administration Department there was unanimity of view among female and male participants about the non-existence of sexual harassment in their workplace. A male participant,

for example, categorically denied it, "Not at all" (Respondent ID: 005). Another pointed out that "no such complaint" was made by anyone (Respondent ID: 007). Others were simply monosyllabic in their denial by saying "no" (Respondents IDs: 014; 068; 146; 147). A male participant said sexual harassment was "never" an issue but he did not explain the point any further (Respondent ID: 168). Women participants from this department also agreed that sexual harassment did not exist in the department (Respondents IDs: 013; 151). This was also the case for women from the Education Department, who argued there was "no" sexual harassment (Respondents IDs: 030; 106; 132; 140; 155; 177; 187; 188; 191; 196). A male participant from the Agriculture Department argued, "Sexual harassment is almost impossible in offices" (Respondent ID: 110). Others argued that they did "not notice any case" (Respondent ID: 012), and were of the view that it was not in their "knowledge" (Respondent ID: 060), or they were categorical in denial, "No, absolutely not" (Respondent ID: 017). But there is evidence that some women believed in the existence of sexual harassment, as one participant believed sexual harassment was present in the form of "disrespect, physical violence and misuse of language" (Respondent ID: 090).

Men in the Education Department also denied the presence of sexual harassment. One argued, "not at all" (Respondent ID: 173), and others had a similar view (Respondent IDs: 009; 010; 011; 049; 109; 125; 134; 137), but some men pointed to the presence of sexual harassment in the form of "mental disturbance" (Respondent ID: 031), a term commonly used when someone annoys another person, and the lack of facilities. As one argued, "They [women] have no proper separate offices, cafeteria, so they always try to hide themselves from menfolk gazes" (Respondent ID: 050), a view of the consequences of the lack of facilities that was shared by some other men (Respondent IDs: 100; 132). A male participant from the Education Department who believed that sexual harassment was rampant said, "Yes, the senior are using their authority, in liking, and issuing warnings. Teachers want female students to spend time with them" (Respondent ID: 135), indicating the subtle nature of sexual harassment in the public sector. The use of "gender-insensitive language" (Respondent ID: 169) and "favoritism" (Respondent ID: 136) were other examples given by men as instances of sexual harassment. A male participant from the Education Department pointed out that "eye teasing/gazing one"

(Respondent ID: 171) and ogling were common forms. Another man from the Social Welfare Department who had received training described "sexual advancements in different forms. Staring is very common" (Respondent ID: 061).

There was a view among some men that it was due to the way women dressed. One man from the Health Department claimed that "their [women's] dressing and English touch position [makeup]" (Respondent ID: 112) were the main reasons for harassment against them. Another man who had received training and was from the Social Welfare Department had the similar view, "Their dressing, beautification [makeup] leads to frustration for male staff" (Respondent ID: 078). A woman from the Planning and Development Department who had not received training believed that harassment related to women's appearance as "when female[s] are hired, they [men] only check their physique, not ability" (Respondent ID: 086). A woman who was in senior management and believed that sexual harassment did not exist warned women to be cautious, "No, I am in charge, a female, and so everything is fine. But the ladies should be very cautious in their behavior and ethics" (Respondent ID: 037).

Sexual harassment was something about which women did not generally talk. A woman from the Education Department, showing ignorance of the issue said, "I do not know. I asked a female colleague the same question. She said no" (Respondent ID: 179). A man from the Education Department, without training, also showed ignorance, "Do not know, as these are not discussed or reported" (Respondent ID: 183). Another male participant from the Planning and Development Department who had not received training was of the view that there was "no such complaint" (Respondent ID: 002). Another said that it was "not reported" (Respondent ID: 022). By contrast, another man from the same department with gender training argued that "female staff is not accepted by male staff as equal members of the organization, they are rather odd members" (Respondent ID: 015) and there were no institutional mechanisms for them to invoke. A participant with gender training from the Social Welfare Department pointed to the few cases and made it clear how they were tackled informally, "No [harassment], only one to two cases which were resolved through counseling" (Respondent ID: 044). The absence of procedures usually led to the adoption of an informal approach to the issues of sexual harassment, as a research participant from the Planning and Development Department who had received training said. The

existence of sexual harassment is illustrated in employees' comments such as the following:

> There is no any parameter to assess regarding the issue. No any case has been reported in written. But one thing I would like share, that a *naib-qasid* [peon] once made phone [call] to my female subordinate and caused worry to her. She told me and informed his uncle who stopped his nephew from such type of actions. (Respondent ID: 034)

In summary, sexual harassment exists in organizations but has largely been ignored as a topic of discussion mostly by the women. Men to some extent acknowledged the presence of sexual harassment but some of them believed that women were responsible for it. So came the warnings from women to other women to be cautious in their behavior. When the issues did arise, they were tackled informally. The evidence suggests a lack of institutional mechanisms to counter the menace of sexual harassment in the public sector.

Conclusion

This chapter has presented the findings of the study regarding the issues of representation, access to resources, and the practices of the research participants, who work in the public sector of Pakistan. As to the study issue of the relationship of gender training with the representation of women, the data suggests that training was not related to the representation of women but that the representation of women was related to the geographic location of the research participants, and that there was support for quotas in Muzaffarabad and opposition in Islamabad. The support was due to a realization that without quotas women's representation cannot be enhanced and that if quotas are not set, men rather than women will continue to fill vacancies in the public sector. The opposition in Islamabad was due to a different set of reasons among men and women with men believing that quotas would reduce economic opportunities and would result in the unemployment of men. Women who opposed quotas believed that women aspiring to join the public sector must come through open competition and on merit.

Public sector organizations were divided as to whether quotas were required for women, with some organizations such as Women's Development

Department supporting quotas and others such as the Industries and Production Department opposing special quotas for women. In the latter department, there was a view that Pakistani society was patriarchal, that it was for men to be breadwinners and that a reversal of the policy would result in the unemployment of men. Attitudes toward the extent of representation of women in the public sector were more favorable among research participants who had received training and were from the senior-management level compared to both those at that level who were without training and those at the middle-management level. At the middle-management level there was less support for more women in the public sector from employees who had had gender training, which suggested that the training provoked resistance to quotas.

As to the study issue of the relation of training with access to resources, it was found that training did have an influence on gender, that is, more women with training began to demand change in policies including promotion quotas, opportunities and leadership roles, childcare facilities, skills training, and change in rules, but fewer men with training demanded such changes. Even fewer men with training than without it demanded such policies, suggesting organizational resistance that was connected to gender. There was a view that the participation of women in the public sector did not absolve them from the household chores, which were still required to be performed by them. Similarly, they were expected to, and did, stay late at the office, to show that they were suitable for the public sector. Data indicated that men considered that women's leaving the office on time and their demands such as childcare were excuses, which men gave as the reason that the public sector is not suitable for women and women should not be recruited to it. Women maintained that not only did they face problems, but they also suffered economically because of paying for private arrangements for childcare.

The attitudes toward the policies needed for change also differed across organizations, with more demand among participants from the Ministry of Women Development for changes in policies and less demand in the Industries and Production Department for such changes. In the latter department, more respondents were of the view that there was no need for change in policies and that equality already existed. Further, similar to the trend of the opposition to quotas for women, the attitudes toward the need for women-specific policies also differed between the middle- and senior-management levels. Research participants at the senior-management level

who had received training demanded women-specific policies but those at the middle-management level showed less demand for women-specific policies to achieve equality in the public sector, which suggested that training provoked resistance to the adoption of women-specific strategies at the middle-management level.

As to the study issue of the relation of gender training with institutional practices, it was found that training did not change institutional practices. The majority of the research participants with and without training did not arrange meetings to highlight gender issues. The minority of participants who claimed to have held meetings reported to have done so as part of their work. A majority of the participants in the Ministry of Women Development reported to have spent more than eight hours within a month on gender issues but those in the Industries and Production Department spent no time at all on gender issues in their organization. For the former, the time spent at work on gender issues was due to the nature of the work of the Ministry of Women Development. Research participants said that job assignments were generalized and did not include working on gender issues. It would be only through the introduction of gender-related policies that employees would work to resolve gender issues. They were of the view that training did result in some sensitization of employees, but clear policy guidelines were required to bring about changes in institutional practices regarding the resolving of gender issues.

The study found that the research participants generally did not believe in the existence of discrimination and sexual harassment in their organizations, but the evidence suggested that this is simply a way for women to negotiate the patriarchal terrain, rather than due to the absence of these issues. Confrontation by women may simply result in men labeling them as being responsible for it. More men than women acknowledged that sexual harassment existed in organizations but many men believed that the appearance of women was a factor. Women were neither considered as equals nor were there any formal mechanisms for them to invoke if they did feel aggrieved. The informal responses to possible harassment resulted in a lack of accountability, the persistence of the status quo and eventually the concentration of authority in the hands of men, who could dictate their terms to control women, for example, by asking them to stay late at the office and possibly asking for inappropriate favors. The next chapter analyzes these findings in the context of the literature reviewed in chapters 2, 3, and 4.

CHAPTER 6

Gender Inequality: The Effect of Patriarchy

Introduction

This chapter discusses and analyzes the findings of the study regarding the issues of representation, access to resources, and the institutional practices that were presented in chapter 5. It relates these findings to the development approaches presented in chapters 2 and 3 as well as the context of Pakistan presented in chapter 4, to draw conclusions on the problem of gender inequality in the public sector of Pakistan. These conclusions are related to patriarchy through occupational closure and patriarchal benevolence, both of which can be used to explain the data. This chapter argues that women's minimal representation and limited access to resources is an effect of the patriarchal control of men over women in the public sector. Gender inequality in the public sector is a political enterprise, with patriarchal institutional mechanisms bestowing power and privilege to groups of men in organizations, which results in women's disadvantage. Any progress toward the elimination of gender inequality in the public sector depends on changes in the patriarchal policies rather than on any training. The representation of women in organizations goes far beyond goodwill through gender training and requires changes in the patriarchal policies, which exclude women from the public sector. The key conclusion that can be drawn is that since the public sector policies are patriarchal, women's representation remains low.

In chapter 5 it was found that the equitable representation of women could face resistance from both men and women. Keeping women out (occupational closure) of sections of the public service on the part of men is due to their concerns with their monopoly over scarce economic opportunities, while women oppose the integration of more women into the workforce due to their concern with their elite status and self-claimed competence. Patriarchal benevolence, on the other hand, occurs when men are not threatened by change at lower levels.

Those constraints imply the need for specific policies for the representation of women in the public sector. The institutional arrangements restrict women's access to material and nonmaterial social and institutional resources. Work-life imbalances lead to power imbalances, which ensure control of men over women. In chapter 5 it was found that whereas more women in middle-level management demanded access to resources, opportunities, and skills, men in similar positions opposed such access, while at the senior-management level men with training supported women's greater access to resources, which suggests that occupational closure in this case is a result of the contest over the monopoly of resources rather than sex per se. The pattern of opposition and support for pro-women policies distributed between middle and senior levels of management suggests that the power dynamics and the interests of groups need to be taken into account to eliminate gender inequality in the public sector rather than providing training, The lack of a significant effect of training on employees' practices as found in chapter 5 suggests that policies and organizational mandates that emerge from a patriarchal social structure determine the activities of employees and that there is a status quo in the public sector, which is not benefiting women. The results of the research show that, rather than training, a change in policies and organizational mandates is required to offset the impact of patriarchal social structures and institutional arrangements, which continue to adversely affect women. These are discussed in more detail below.

Representation of Women

The focus on the representation of women as a means for achieving gender equality is central to the WID approaches discussed in chapter 2. The relevance of the lack of representation to the problem of gender inequality in the public sector of Pakistan was highlighted in chapter 4, which showed

that women are a small minority in the public sector of Pakistan, particularly at the senior levels. The government, however, has embarked upon gender training of public sector employees in lieu of implementing an affirmative action program for women with quotas. The findings of this study suggest that the issue of the representation of women in institutions goes far beyond the goodwill built through gender training and requires a change in the policies that exclude women from the public sector. For example, the data described in chapter 5 found that the support for women's representation through quotas was greater in Muzaffarabad and there was opposition to quotas in Islamabad, which suggested differences in the sociopolitical context, but we know from chapter 4 that quota policies are generally lacking in Pakistan and the representation of women in the public sector in both places was equally low. The results show that even when the attitudes toward quotas are more favorable, as in Muzaffarabad, attitudes cannot substitute for a quota policy for enhancing the participation of women. The findings show that training has actually reinforced the opposition to quotas in Islamabad, which points to the strength of the patriarchal social-cultural context, which cannot be changed through training alone but requires structural changes.

The opposition to quotas implies that efforts at the elimination of gender inequality would have to take measures such as quotas independent of waiting for a change in the patriarchal social context. In chapter 4 it was mentioned that women's representation in the political institutions of Pakistan was made possible due to specific policies of inclusion, which took into account that due to a lack of a level playing field, women's representation in political institutions required the special measures of quotas (Graff 2003; Krook and Hall 2009; Mushtaq 2009). The data from chapter 5 shows that women are lagging behind in development (Respondent ID: 025) and the distribution of social resources and opportunities has not been equitable (Respondent ID: 048), therefore quotas are required until a level playing field for women is created (Respondent ID: 193).

This view is supported by the literature on the participation of women in political institutions, which related that when policies were framed to increase women's representation in the political institutions at the local-government level to 33 percent, women increasingly joined the political institutions (Reyes 2002; Graff 2003; Rai, Shah, and Ayaz 2007; Khattak 2010). Social goodwill alone is not enough to encourage women to join the

public sector. For example, the research found that the majority of respondents from Muzaffarabad desired an increased representation of women, but it remained low, as there were no policies or processes for women entering the public sector. The effect was that the existing patriarchal configuration of the public sector remained intact. In Islamabad, where employees opposed quota policies for women and where patriarchal policies also blocked women's entry into the public sector, women's representation also remained low. Krook and True (2010) argue that norms exist in "competition with other, often opposing, norms and would-be norms" and that policy shapes the norms of "suffrage, democracy, human rights, labor standards and prohibitions against slavery and apartheid" (p. 2). Although women's representation at both locations was low, the sociopolitical trends of support for and opposition to the policies for the inclusion of women depended on the lack of inclusive policies, which solidified the patterns of support and opposition to the representation of women in the public sector. In Muzaffarabad since the 1970s, the government of AJK has been implementing quotas for achieving the objective of interdistrict parity of the disadvantaged segments of society. This policy did not target women's inclusion, but nevertheless, it did foster the support for the inclusion of women, as found in this study.

True (2010) and others argue that change in norms occurs as a result of the diffusion of policies (True and Mintrom 2001; Sandholtz 2007; Van Kersbergen and Verbeek 2007). The study shows that when there are no policies, norms remain unchanged, but where some policies have been implemented, the attitudes of people are favorable. In Islamabad, where inclusive policies are rarely implemented, resistance to women's inclusion was the dominant norm. In India quotas have been found to be linked to positive social change (Pande 2003; Nanivadekar 2006; Bhavnani 2009). Bano (2009) in particular found that in the case of political institutions the implementation of a policy on the integration of women resulted in changes in norms such as the shift in political power "from fathers to daughters instead of sons only" (p. 19). Lewis (2001: 153) argues that in the past welfare and marriage-related policies contributed to the norm of the dependency of women on men as well as legitimizing men's role as breadwinners and women's role as homemakers. Epstein (2007: 17) argues that the achievements of a society relate to the extent it "truly" opens the gates for women. In the patriarchal context of the public sector of Pakistan, the gates remain firmly closed to women.

The data presented in chapter 5 supports the occupational closure theory, which considers gender inequality in terms of a contest between dominant and subordinate groups (Parkin 1979; Witz 1990), in this case men and women. For example, both male and female groups in Islamabad in lower positions opposed policies for the integration of women, with the men fearing a shrinking of employment opportunities if women joined the organizations (Respondent IDs: 035; 109). This supports the view of the economic theories of gender inequality that economic relations contribute to patriarchal domination (Calás and Smircich 1999: 226; Connelly et al. 2000; Aitchison 2003: 29; Chowdhury 2010). Weber (1991) argues that "material monopolies provide the most effective motives for the exclusiveness of a status group" (p. 191). This also supports the political theory of gender inequality that the exclusion of women from the labor market results from the downward use of power by the dominant group (Özbilgin and Woodward 2003). Here the men as the dominant group set economic criteria that make it difficult for women to join the public sector, thus creating de facto gender inequality (Hartmann 1976; Parkin 1979; Eisenstein 1990; Walby 1990). Gender training in this context will not help, as there are fundamental conflicting interests. Dasgupta (2007: 34) found in "situation of conflicting interests" that individuals, despite training, do not support the cause of gender equality. The resulting lack of support by men and women for women's representation is supported by the theories of self-interest presented in chapter 3 (Fazio 1990; Ajzen 2005). As training did not result in a change in the behavior of the research participants toward the representation of women, the argument of Ratner and Miller (2001: 6) that "the link between self-interest and behaviour is stronger than that between self-interest and attitude" and that of Miller (2001: 199) that individuals act "in line with self-interest" were proved to be the case. The privileging of self-interest creates unequal power structures that remain unaffected by gender training. A lack of policies in the public sector of Pakistan over the years has solidified patriarchal relations and the privileging of interests of male employees.

Women in the lower ranks also accepted that women should be largely excluded from the public service. Parkin (1979) argues that "exclusionary social closure is an aspect of conflict and cleavage within social classes as well as between them . . . exploitation occurs within the subordinate class as well as against it" (p. 89). Unlike the men who closed ranks on economic grounds, the women in this study supported the exclusion of other women

on the grounds of their own perceived competence and status. This supports the view that women affected by exclusion from the dominant group of men may themselves adopt exclusionary strategies in the same way toward excluding other women (Parkin 1979; Özbilgin and Woodward 2003). The women in this study emphasized that competence and merit would be sacrificed if policies were adopted for a speedy intake of women, and suggested that undeserving women would enter the public sector. Abbott and Meerabeau (1998: 206) found that nurses resisted social workers being involved with the care of the sick and elderly in order to strengthen their professional identity as the nursing elite. A key feature of occupational closure is that "all those in possession of a given qualification are deemed competent to provide the relevant skills and services for the rest of their professional lives" (Parkin 1979: 56). In this case, the "qualification" seems to be the gender of the employees.

Gender inequality in the public sector through the low representation of women accords those in the public sector power over the excluded women and so reinforces their opposition to the integration of women. This suggests a variation from some radical feminists' theories, which consider power as an attribute of sex (Connell 2005; Johnson 2005; MacKinnon 2010). This study suggests that power is also an attribute of privilege and to some extent resides outside individuals, and in the patriarchal structures, which accord privileges to men to make them powerful, there is an institutional dimension. This highlights the contested nature of power and suggests that both men and women as individuals actively contribute to the construction of patriarchal systems and the maintenance of the status quo. This structure retains their privilege but since patriarchal institutional structures for long have endowed privilege to men, it is the men who are in a position to define a gendered organizational reality. Barlas (2002; 2004) argues that the vested interests of men have been at the heart of the patriarchal power in Muslim countries used to subjugate women. Rather than sex per se, the opposition to the representation of women is based on the patriarchal interest, which uses sex to maintain a privileged status quo (Connell 2005).

The opposition of groups of men and women to policies for the integration of women supports the political theories that gender equality is political, with control over opportunities and the mobility of women being a political decision to maintain "hierarchal relationships and sexual inequality" (Mernissi 1996: 14). The "complexity of gender relations in specific contexts" involves the interests of groups of both men and women

(Charlesworth and Smith 2005: 18; Mukhopadhyay and Wong 2007). The opposition of women at the middle-management level to quota policies suggests that women in institutions may become part of the power structure, in which they take care of their own interests such as their elite status at the expense of representing the interests of other (excluded) women. This suggests that gendered structures that cause exclusion also result in unequal power relations between included and excluded women (Longwe 1997; Cornwall 2003; Dasgupta 2007; Mukhopadhyay 2007a; 2007b; Batliwala 2010).

The need for change in government policies to secure the greater integration of women that this study found supports the view that it is necessary to go beyond a focus on representation to seek transformation in institutions. This cannot be done by gender training alone (Squires 2005; Walby 2005; Lombardo and Verloo 2009). This challenges those in the gender and development debate who support policies that focus only on the inclusion of women, as it shows that the mere inclusion of women does not necessarily result in gender equality (Schalkwyk, Thomas, and Woroniuk 1996; Beall 1998; Hannan 2001; Booth and Bennett 2002; Howard 2002; Rees 2002; Woodward 2003; Daly 2005).

The finding that men and women in different situations have different views on equality with a common view on preserving their interest and their retention of power contrasts with the social theories of gender inequality in the labor market. In particular, it challenges the notions that treat all women in an undifferentiated universal category unaffected by issues of class, race, ethnicity, power, and employment status (Ember and Ember 2003: 16; Lippa 2005: 72). The results suggest that the interests of groups of men and women already in the public sector resulted in continued opposition to policies for the integration of women, and training did not bring positive changes in attitudes. The patriarchal values that underlie their self-interest can be adopted by women as much as men (Kandiyoti 1988; Johnson 2005). Rather than the "use of invidious distinctions made between males and females" through socialization (Epstein 2007: 4), I would argue that it is the retention of interests by the included groups that underlies their opposition to the excluded, and men being the dominant group are able to retain their interest more, which explains gender inequality in the public sector. Maria Mies (1998: 13) and others argue that a focus on the women question limits the understanding of the deeper structural roots of gender inequality (Rossides 1998;

McElroy 2001: 87; Aitchison 2003: 327; Cornwall 2003; Mukhopadhyay 2007a; 2007b).

The study suggests that the gender training programs and the like results in a focus on women at the expense of a focus on social and institutional structures that actually create and sustain unequal power relations between men and women. Moreover, women in Pakistan work in every sector of the economy such as agriculture and livestock (Iftikhar, Ali, and Ahmad 2007; Shafiq 2008; Afzal et al. 2009; Amin et al. 2009), in the informal sector (French et al. 1994; Lee and Saeed 2001; Maqsood et al. 2005; Khan 2007; Khan and Khan 2009; Malik et al. 2010) as well as in the formal sectors of the economy (Qureshi 2000; Haeri 2002; Maqsood et al. 2005; Khan and Khan 2009; Faisal 2010) but there remains a significant difference between the level of their participation in the formal and informal sectors of the economy, whether controlled by the state or not. Gender inequality in the public sector rather than being a women's question is a broader political question, and a satisfactory answer can only be reached by examining the political roots that create and sustain patriarchy in the public sector. This involves a focus on the power differentials between the included and the excluded that are created through patriarchal institutional structures.

Implications

The above discussion and analysis implies that in line with the true spirit of gender and development approaches, and considering the politics of gender inequality, there is a need to introduce quota policies as the so-called merit-oriented policies do not take account of the lack of women in the public sector, and thus tend to maintain the pattern of gender inequality. The case of gender equality might advance if policies for large quotas for women at the entry level in the public sector are implemented together with support for quotas for promotion to higher levels. Since the government itself acknowledges the issue of the lack of representation of women in the public sector (GOP 1998; 2003; 2006b) and since this study shows that equitable representation cannot be achieved due to the institutional-deep structures and existing arrangements, the existing 10 percent quota should be increased with processes put in place for implementation (Rai, Shah, and Ayaz 2007). This is one measure to be taken but the elimination of gender inequality in the public sector of Pakistan would also require the government and the

international development institutions to work on changing institutional structures and in addition,

> accord high priority in their development assistance to [policies and] projects that include the integration of women into the development efforts and the achievement of equality. (UN 1976: 39)

The key issue is the inertia and resistance to change so that interests are preserved.

Women's Access to Resources

The focus on women's access to resources such as training, social support, and facilities for them in the workplace is central to the economic theories of gender inequality in the labor market as well the WAD approaches discussed in chapters 2 and 3. However, as reviewed in chapter 4, little is known about women's access to resources such as training, leadership opportunities, and even facilities to enable them to undertake their work in a safe environment in the public sector of Pakistan. Similarly, there is little research as to how the policy approach of gender training relates to women's access to resources as a viable alternative to the specific institutional policies that would deal with this issue. This section discusses and analyzes the findings of the study that gender training does not lead to increased access to resources for women; they continue to face issues of access to social and institutional resources to address work-life imbalances. This includes the lack of material and nonmaterial resources including childcare, toilets, transport, higher organizational mobility, and postings at family stations. The absence of mechanisms to sort out day-to-day administrative issues results in the disadvantage and powerlessness of women. The responses of both female and male respondents implied that existing work arrangements are extremely insensitive to the needs of women and require change.

The women in this study complained about the lack of facilities, accommodation, childcare, and transport for women. This supports similar findings by Maqsood et al. (2005) and Qureshi (2000), who found that women faced inadequate facilities of accommodation and transport, and Faisal (2010), who found lower satisfaction on these issues among federal government employees. Women, both in the federal government and in AJK, faced

similar problems with a lack of resources for women in the public sector organizations, which is systemic across the country. The public sector is often cast around the image of man as the worker who does not have to face the issues of childcare and long hours of work, and can afford to work away from home for long periods (Acker 2009).

> At least eight hours of continuous work away from the living space, arrival on time, total attention to the work and long hours if necessary are all expectations that incorporate the image of the unencumbered worker, implicitly a man. (p. 206)

This research suggests that fundamental changes in culture as well as investment by the government are required to change this.

The opinions of women on these issues support the view that patriarchy involves both private and public domains and women's ascribed role of reproduction and production (Lovell 2000; Crompton 2001; Ferguson 2004; England and Folbre 2005). For example, on the one hand, men expect women to stay in their offices beyond the official working day (Respondent ID: 198) and on the other hand, childcare is largely considered solely a women's issue to be dealt with and financed by them alone, rather than being considered a common issue requiring action by men as well as women in the family and the state (Respondent IDs: 045; 053). Moreover, women face problem of transport from home to their workplace on a daily basis (Respondent ID: 114) but it remains an unattended issue. When they reach their workplaces, they do not have women's toilets (Respondent IDs: 053; 058). There are a host of other issues such as lack of opportunities for promotion and capacity building, and inadequate responses to the administrative problems faced by women (Respondent IDs: 053; 122; 170). In the social sphere, the legal rights of mobility and expression of thought are often curbed for women (Respondent ID: 086).

This research points out that women suffer in the social and public spheres but the constraints also have a bearing on the domestic sphere. These work-life imbalances disadvantage women more than men (Acker 2006b; Emslie and Hunt 2009; Forma 2009; Karimi 2009; Pedersen et al. 2009), as women are the primary carers. The intersection of work and family in defining the patriarchal disadvantage for women is in line with Kabeer's argument that gender relations intersect in all social spaces including family, community, market, and state. The rules, practices,

people, and power dynamics must all be analyzed for a proper understanding and transformation in gender relations (Kabeer 1994), which is what this study attempts to do. The public-private and reproductive-productive dichotomies to some extent are artificial and there is a complex interaction between private and public spheres with a whole range of social structures and institutions involved in the patriarchal control of women (Walby 1989; 1990; 2000).

This study has found no evidence to suggest that the state of Pakistan as an employer pays less to women than men in the public sector. However, despite this, women are economically disadvantaged as there is no support for childcare from either their husbands or the state. This study found that women had to cover childcare expenses themselves (Respondent ID: 036) and often had to employ domestic servants to cover domestic work. This supports the argument of Barrientos and Kabeer (2004) that the nonprovision of childcare affects the gender gap in earnings, promotion, long-term patterns of participation in the workforce, and even the type of employment: "the reliable provision of childcare is critical to 'levelling the playing field' as well as to ensuring the welfare of children" (ibid.: 155). The lower net income of working women in the public sector supports the argument of Budig and England (2001) and Levine (2003) that even if paid equally to men, women earn less for their actual work as there are often unpaid duties required of them that are not required of men who do not bear the cost of childcare. The benefits of mothering accrue to everyone, including employers and men in households, but the costs are disproportionally borne by women, who end up having less control over resources. Chowdhury (2010) argues that paid work is just a source of a second burden on women and does not necessarily result in an increase in their status.

The findings on women's lack of access to resources in the public sector of Pakistan is in line with Kabeer and Connell's argument that men's almost exclusive access to resources is central to the powerlessness of women (Connell 2005; Kabeer 2009) and that men's greater advantage is a result of women's material disadvantage and their lack of power (Connelly et al. 2000; Mutari 2000: 31; Acker 2006a; Khosravi Shakib 2010). Power in part relates to the access or denial of resources. While MacKinnon (2010) argues that power is a function of sex, this study supports the view of Connell and others that the patriarchal power of men results from their privileged access to resources in institutions, including the family and

the workplace among others, rather than sex per se. Women's subordination to men is mediated by their lack of access to resources, a subordination that state policies and state institutions support (Connell 2005: 116). The power of men is in part derived from their access to resources such as education and employment that are denied to women, and also from their power in the family and the workplace. When states do not implement appropriate gender policies, then the poor behavior of men toward women in both the household and the public sphere remains unchecked, as women have no recourse to institutions, which in Pakistan influence patriarchal norms (Dale 2005; Zippel 2006).

Women's access to resources is also limited due to the steep organizational hierarchy in the public sector. As the top positions are occupied by men and women are concentrated in the lower positions, organizations have clear patterns of power differentials between men and women (Acker and Houten 1974; Kanter 1977; Acker 1990; 1992; 1998; 2000; 2006a; 2006b; 2009). The institutional criteria for advancement including a long length of service, which make women effectively ineligible for powerful positions, are one strategy of occupational closure to the higher positions (Hartmann 1976; Parkin 1979; Eisenstein 1990; Walby 1990).

This study found that women were excluded (occupational closure) at the middle-management level, but among the trained officials at the senior-management level there was patriarchal benevolence that manifested as support for women's increased access to resources at the lower levels. The lower positions (middle management) were characterized by a contest between group of men and women over whether strategies should be adopted for women's increased access to resources. Men in these positions said that there was no need for change in policies or for pro-women strategies, that there was no issue of gender inequality (Respondent IDs: 027; 029; 068) and that there were no barriers for women (Respondent ID: 005). There was even a view that young women were favored by the bosses (Respondent IDs: 032; 184) and a view that women needed to change themselves to meet organizational requirements such as working for odd hours (Respondent ID: 171) with strict adherence to duties (Respondent ID: 038). This resistance supports Witz's (1990) argument that occupational closure, that is, the exclusion of women, is "a means of mobilising male power in order to stake claims to resources and opportunities distributed via the mechanisms of the labour market" (p. 44). One version of the occupational closure theory considers the exclusion of women to

be a result of the downward use of power of the dominant group in the top positions (Özbilgin and Woodward 2003) but this study found that the strongest resistance to the adoption of pro-women policies was located with the group of men in middle-level management, which suggests that the exclusion of women can also be achieved through the horizontal use of power or claims, or resistance to the institutional resources.

At the senior-management level, gender-trained employees identified the need for pro-women polices such as fair selection processes (Respondent ID: 010), arrangements for transport to and from the workplace in posted areas (Respondent IDs: 022; 181; 189), financial incentives (Respondent ID: 158), physical infrastructure for childcare, working women's hostels (Respondent IDs: 015; 048), and even an institutional framework of rules such as a staff code of conduct (Respondent ID: 183). The pattern of opposition and support among the gender-trained men to the adoption of pro-women policies concentrated in the middle- and senior-management levels, respectively, supports the view that gender equality, far from being a harmonious project, is a political project that involves contest and competition between different interests (Verloo 2004; Verloo et al. 2009). Arguably, the interests of men at the middle-management level (lower positions) in terms of claims over resources clashed with those of the women at this management level, so the men opposed the adoption of pro-women policies. However, as there was no direct clash of interests in terms of claims over resources between men at the senior-management level and women at the middle-management level, therefore, the men supported women's access to resources at the middle-management level.

The public sector in Pakistan is inherently patriarchal, and the finding that women in the public sector are demanding greater access to resources shows that these resources are not adequate for their needs and that there are unattended and unresolved issues. This supports the argument that institutions are generally not accountable to the people they claim to empower (Kilby 2004; 2006; Harcourt 2010). Whereas gender training was provided with the assumption that the attitudes of employees in organizations would change, this study found that was certainly not the case in the public sector of Pakistan in terms of a change of heart for pro-women policies facilitating women's increased access to resources. Whereas 75 percent of employees in the Women Department with gender training demanded the adoption of gender equality policies to achieve progress toward equality in the public

sector, 100 percent of employees in the sample with and without gender training from the Industries and Production Department were of the view that there was no need for a change in policies and that equality already existed.

In chapter 4 it was pointed out that only the rules of business related to the Ministry of Women Development mentioned gender equality and no other ministry or department did so, which suggested that gender equality was not a priority for the government of Pakistan. This supports Kilby's (2011) argument that the lack of laws and rules in institutions results in a lack of the accountability of institutions for the empowerment of women. It is through the "formal feedback mechanisms" that organizations may be made to work for the empowerment of women (ibid.: 92). Kilby found that it was "more structural (formal) links that delivered stronger empowerment outcomes" (ibid.: 112). This study shows that the gender training of employees cannot substitute for the lack of policy structures and that training does not result even in a desire for the adoption of pro-women policies for the issues faced by women in the social and public domains. The need for pro-women policies identified by women in this study supports the view that institutional policies needed to be reformed to make progress toward gender equality (Eisenstein 1990; Goetz 1997; Marchbank 2000; Connell 2006).

Elimination of gender inequality in the public sector of Pakistan requires action on the issues faced by women on a daily basis. The demands of the women in this study for the provision of social and institutional, material and nonmaterial resources including transport, accommodation, childcare, and a congenial work environment need to be met by the institutions themselves for the empowerment of women. This supports Jakimow and Kilby's (2006) argument that the mere participation of women does not result in their empowerment because "the ability of disempowered to pursue their interests requires the lifting of constraints, regardless of who undertakes the requisite action" (p. 378). The progress toward gender equality requires participation as well as the removal of structural constraints through a change in institutional policies. As Giddens argues, social reality is a product of the interaction of social agents drawing upon accessible rules and resources (Giddens 1979; 1984), this study shows that who controls those rules and resources is critical. When women's needs are not met and the policies remain insensitive to them, patriarchal reality is formed. This book argues that it is for the public sector institutions

to recognize the entitlements, laws, and the citizenship rights of women (Goetz 2007; Mukhopadhyay 2007a).

This book suggests that pro-women policies are required as a matter of the rights of women. Rights are necessary to "legitimise women's demands for the improvement of their legal status, political representation and well being" (Molyneux 2004: 115). Gender training puts the onus of empowerment entirely on a change in attitudes of men and women or the active agency of women, but the demands made by women for pro-women policies support the view that structural constraints constrain the agency of the disempowered women (Kabeer 2001; Molyneux 2004; Kilby 2006; 2011). The list of issues faced by women in terms of promotion, leadership roles, facilities, skills, training, transport to and from the workplace, accommodation, and childcare suggests that social, cultural, and legal institutional mechanisms "underwrite male control and privilege" (Vijayamohanan, Asalatha, and Ponnuswamy 2009: 30). This supports the view that women's exclusion and powerlessness is both the cause and the effect of prevalent gender-insensitive institutional policies (Kabeer 2000; 2002). This suggests that "levelling the playing field, in other words, changing institutional rules" (Goetz 1997: 3), rather than training, is required for progress toward gender equality.

If we relate women's lack of access to resources in the public sector, as shown in their demand for pro-women policies, with the social context of Pakistan as discussed in chapter 4 (Winkvist and Akhtar 2000; Khan and Khan 2010: 15), it becomes clearer that women's marginalization is not only in the social sphere but also in the other spheres of the public sector, the community, and the household. It is the role of the state to alleviate the adverse effects of the problems faced by women that tend to solidify inequality between men and women (Khan 1997; Khalid and Khan 2006; GOP 2009; Barber 2010). When households have to bear the cost of the provision of transport, accommodation, and childcare, women are considered a liability and men considered an asset. If accommodation, transport, and childcare needs are not provided, jobs become costly for women. Training may generate goodwill but it is not a substitute for the provision of resources to women. "The attainment of equality pre-supposes equality of access to resources and the power to participate equally and effectively in their allocation and in decision-making at various levels" (UN 1980: 5). This in the case of Pakistan means a fundamental re-formation of the existing policies.

Implications

The existing institutional arrangements of the public sector of Pakistan do not cater to the issues faced by women on a daily basis. The removal of constraints in terms of affordable childcare, transport, security, and safe accommodation when posted may help in some ways to alter the patriarchal context of the public sector. Innovative programs such as women's hostels, specific programs for imparting skills, and the establishment of long-term endowment funds for the provision of transport are some of the options that have been proposed by women (Respondents IDs: 045; 053; 114; 141; 170; 184; 198), and, given the low numbers of women in the public sector as shown in chapter 4, such programs would be neither difficult nor too costly. Childcare center is an option for workplaces, as is transport support for women. The upper age limit for women's entry into the public sector seems to lack any rationale and disadvantages women who often have child-care responsibilities. The state puts serious constraints on the empowerment of women in Pakistan (Awan 2006; Vishwanath 2006), which needs to be taken into account by the development agencies. Aid donors, who are involved in Pakistan providing resources, need to adopt country strategies to go beyond merely educating women about the existence of laws (ADB 2009b: 10) to examine how laws and policies disadvantage women and require meaningful change. Institutional capacity building through motivational training has been more common in the UNDP's approaches to gender equality in the public sector of Pakistan (UNDP 2009a). The study suggests that besides providing training, the UNDP needs a revision of its strategies to specifically focus on patriarchal constraints in the way of women's access to resources in the public sector.

The Issue of Institutional Practices

While the government and the donor agencies have been strong on the rhetoric of tackling gender inequality in the public sector through gender training, this study shows that gender equality was less of a priority and that despite training, *institutional inertia* prevails in the public sector. Contrary to the assumption of gender training resulting in changes in attitudes and practices, it was found that the posttraining practices of employees were not influenced by the gender training and in some cases the opposition to gender policies strengthened. Even after training, the practices

of employees including arranging meetings, spending time on matters of organizational interest, and addressing issues on gender remained largely unchanged. Likewise the gender training has had no effect in shaping employees' practices in organizations. This is in line with Howard (2002), Kusakabe (2005), and Dawson (2005), who all found that training did not shape the activities of bureaucrats. This study suggests that Howard's argument that more and better training would result in a change in institutional practices probably would not work unless accompanied by structural changes in institutions. The practices of employees are influenced by existing policies, which do not mention gender, rather than by their knowledge and understanding of gender issues per se. Dawson (2005) argues that gender training cannot "convince staff to mainstream gender if achieving gender equality is not a clear goal set out in their strategic plan" (p. 88). The focus of interventions should be on change in the patriarchal policies and mandates of institutions that shape the patriarchal practices of individuals. Mathur and Rajan (1997) argue,

> In the context of government functionaries, gender training projects…must necessarily be backed by policies and procedures for the implementation of pro-women initiatives in practice. (p. 74)

The study found that the majority of employees did not arrange a single meeting on gender issues in two years (Respondent IDs: 001; 003; 011; 028; 058; 082; 103; 122; 157; 184), suggesting that gender was rarely an organizational priority. However, a clear pattern across organizations was found in terms of time spent on gender issues in a month, with more employees from the Ministry of Women Development claiming that they spent more than eight hours on gender issues in a month and one respondent pointing out that due to the nature of the ministry, all time spent was on gender issues (Respondent ID: 040). By contrast, in the Agriculture Department more research participants reported having spent no time on gender issues and in the Industries and Production Department not a single employee reported having spent time on gender issues in one month, suggesting that gender equality is the specific concern of a few departments rather than a horizontal concern across all public sector organizations. There was a view in the Agriculture Department that job descriptions were generic and gender equality was not part of their work (Respondent ID: 003). A parallel pattern was found by Mukhopadhyay (2004) in Ethiopia, where the Ministry

of Education with an organizational mandate for gender equality was an innovator and the Ministry of Agriculture lagged behind in change toward gender equality. Changes in the practices of employees after training did not occur; only 1 government division out of 52 mentioned gender equality at all (GOP 1973c).

Public sector organizations in Pakistan lack gender equality mandates so it was not up to the research participants to engage in gender equality practices on their own initiative. Research participants, despite gender training, were not engaging in gender equality practices, but were not transgressing the rules of their business. This supports the view that institutional constraints play a critical role in preventing change in behavior (Eisenstein 1990; Goetz 1997; Connell 2006). As with the finding about women's access to resources discussed in the section on access to resources, this finding confirms the view that the lack of accountability of the development institutions is due to the lack of rules and organizational mechanisms (Kilby 2004; 2011).

The research participants interviewed in this study who denied the presence of sexual harassment at workplaces, when questioned further also said that no institutional structures of support were there; therefore, there were no reports and no complaints (Respondents IDs: 004; 012; 022; 043; 089). This indicated that denying the occurrence of sexual harassment could be a result of the understanding of the status quo in which nothing was going to change even if the presence of sexual harassment were to be acknowledged. This can be seen as a way carved by women to negotiate the patriarchal terrain and creating some space for them to work in the public sector. Martin's (2006) view is that sex forms the basis of the relationship between a male boss and a female subordinate, but it is also the absence of structures of accountability that results in poor behavior as a form of patriarchy exercised by men. MacKinnon (1987; 1993) argues that although sexual harassment exists in workplaces, it is only when it is declared an act of discrimination that claims of sexual harassment begin to surface. Kilby (2011) argues that "formal feedback mechanisms" deliver "stronger empowerment outcomes" (ibid.: 92, 112). While he was referring to the need for formal arrangements between organizations and aid recipients, this study suggests that similar effects would be found in the public sector.

If formal arrangements within public sector organizations in Pakistan were implemented, they may make employees accountable to gender equality and institutional change in gender relations. In the absence of formal

structures of accountability, training as a process does not change patriarchal organizational mandates and rules, which continue to shape the patriarchal practices of employees and employers.

This study suggests that the absence of gender-sensitive policies supports the status quo, which favors men and maintains unequal power relations between men and women. The study found signs of unequal power relations between men and women in their responses about discrimination. Although a majority of research participants denied the possibility of discrimination in the workplace in male-dominated organizations with few women such as the Agriculture Department and the Planning Department, the most frequent reason advanced by both men and women for the absence of discrimination was "respect" (Respondent IDs: 051; 070; 089; 167; 173). Further, men mixed the notion of respect with the notion of sympathy. One respondent said that there was no discrimination because women were "treated sympathetically" by men (Respondent ID: 134), suggesting an acceptance of inequality in the relationship. Moreover, the employees of the Industries Department who acknowledged discrimination considered that men were discriminated against and that women were being favored in the public sector. This supports Tiessen's (2007) view that prevalent organizational arrangements maintain the status quo and "the privileging of male interests over female interests" and are thus a significant barrier to gender equality in organizations (p. 16), and that gender inequality in the development agencies needs to be tackled before they can tackle gender inequality in client communities. This study shows that, rather than providing training, patriarchal organizational mandates need to be changed if progress toward the elimination of gender inequality in the public sector is to be achieved (Rathgeber 1990; Zwart 1992; Razavi and Miller 1995; Jahan 1996; Razavi 1997; Goetz 2004; Tiessen 2007).

When programs such as gender training have a gender equality agenda, transformation does not become a reality because gender-trained individuals return to work in the overarching patriarchal framework (Dasgupta 2007: 34). The problem may not be with GAD but with the way GAD has been implemented, namely through the approach of gender training, which does not take into account the effects of patriarchal structures and policies in the creation of unequal gender relations (Woodford-Berger 2004; Kusakabe 2005; Abou-Habib 2007; Ahikire 2007; Dasgupta 2007). Institutional change requires going beyond the gender awareness of individuals (Schalkwyk, Thomas, and Woroniuk 1996; Woroniuk, Thomas,

and Schalkwyk 1996; Schalkwyk 1998) involving the extensive emphasis on the education of bureaucrats about gender equality to focus on institutions themselves (Commonwealth Secretariat 1999b; 2001; Leo-Rhynie 1999; O'Regan-Tardu 1999; Sen 1999; Taylor 1999; Frankson 2000). As a result of gender training, employees in organizations learn some gender terminology (Moser 2005; Ahikire 2007; Zaleski 2010) but employee practices continue to be shaped by patriarchal institutional policies and mindsets. An awareness of the situation of women by the employees through gender training does not mean that individuals in institutions would take decisions that do not fit in the existing policy frame.

The above discussion suggests that patriarchal arrangements maintain power relations in favor of men. Patriarchal institutional arrangements over a period of time have created privileges and interests of men. As we have seen in chapter 2, the family is the locus of patriarchy and direct organizational connections emerge from it (Walby 1989; 1990; 2000). In countries, where social norms are strictly patriarchal (Kandiyoti 1988), women's involvement in paid work does not solve the problem of patriarchy as there is still active social resistance (Chowdhury 2010). Gainful employment alone is not part of the solution to the problem, as patriarchy belongs in the household or private sphere as much as in the public space. This study shows that the gender-insensitive policies in organizations add to the burden of women and must be analyzed for an understanding of gender inequality in the public sector. Mathur and Rajan (1997) argue that "institutional patterns have favored mostly men and have not been sensitive to women's needs" (p. 74) regardless of sensitization and training. In the case of Pakistan, a more relevant example of insensitive institutional patterns could be the lack of a gender equality framework in the rules of business of the public sector, which, as discussed above, shape the practices of individuals in organizations. Even in Pakistan, a case of classic patriarchy, many different variables shape it, as suggested by Walby (1990). Moghadam (2002) argues that it is through the legislation by the Taliban regime that the exclusion of women from the public spaces and their status as second-class citizens were promoted. In Pakistan also it was through legislation that the social bias against women was promoted (Mumtaz and Shaheed 1987; Weiss 2003; Kothari 2005; Mullally 2005; Shaheed 2010). The established view of classic patriarchy is that the subordination of women results from the control of the eldest men in the family (Moghadam 2002; Shankar and Northcott 2009; Yount 2011) but this study argues that it is also through institutional policies and structures

that classic patriarchy is strengthened. The policy makers come from the patriarchal society and there is little attempt to change these structures, thus sealing the fate of women in the public sector.

Implications

This study found that gender training as an approach to institutional change cannot achieve progress toward the elimination of gender inequality in the public sector, and instead the focus needs to be on a change in the patriarchal policies and institutional structures, which produce and reproduce gender inequality in the public sector (Ahikire 2007: 39; Dasgupta 2007: 34). Public sector institutions in Pakistan need to be scrutinized with respect to the rights, laws, and entitlements of women (Goetz 2007; Mukhopadhyay 2007a) in the gender content of policies, perhaps through a gender audit of the rules of business. The Beijing Conference in 1995 had asked that "governments and other actors should promote an active and visible policy of mainstreaming a gender perspective in all policies and programmes" (UN 1996: 27). There is a need for aid donors involved in Pakistan to encourage the government to adopt pro-women policies, rather than focusing on training. This is particularly important given the inability of training to shape practices and the recognition that the state of Pakistan has "disenfranchised women" (Rashid 2009).

Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the findings of the study regarding the issues of representation, access to resources, and the practices of employees in relation to gender training. It has argued that women's low representation and poor access to resources are not causes of gender inequality but are effects of the patriarchal control of men over women in the public sector. Patriarchal mechanisms vest power and privilege to groups of men in organizations. Progress toward the elimination of gender inequality in the public sector depends on changes in the patriarchal policies rather than on training per se. Gender inequality in the public sector has political dimensions, so that patriarchal occupational closure emerges from a resistance to the equitable representation of women in the public sector. Patriarchal benevolence occurs in senior positions where the elite status and the monopoly over opportunities are not at risk from changes at lower levels. Due to the patriarchal

constraints, specific quota policies are required if the equitable representation of women is to be achieved. The failure of the public sector to provide equitable access to resources for women, the lack of which results in the relative powerlessness of women, also relates to the patriarchal nature of work arrangements in public sector organizations. Patriarchal arrangements enable control of men over women. Women as a group close ranks to demand increased access to resources but are likely to be opposed by men due to concerns with the monopoly over resources. Men in top positions with secure access to resources are not challenged by changes at lower levels and may support women's access to resources. Rather than training, patriarchal policies and organizational mandates determine the activities of employees, and these policies prevent public sector employees from engaging in gender equality work. These factors, not sex per se, also establish male domination in the public sector organizations. The discussion suggests a fundamental reappraisal of development methodologies of gender training with a view to focusing on change in the patriarchal policies that result in gender inequality in the public sector.

CHAPTER 7

Conclusion

Introduction

This book has examined how the policy solution of gender training of public employees relates to the problem of gender inequality in the public sector of Pakistan. Social, economic, and political theories of gender inequality in the labor market identify the problems of low representation, limited access to economic resources, and patriarchy, respectively, as the basis of gender inequality. The development approaches of WID and WAD consider integration of women as a solution to the problem of gender inequality, while GAD and gender mainstreaming challenge those development approaches and argue that it is the transformation in patriarchal institutions that is the solution to the problem of gender inequality in the labor market. However, in practice, GAD and gender mainstreaming too often rely on gender training as the path to institutional transformation, with donors, governments of developing countries, and development feminists all emphasizing gender training as a solution to gender inequality in the public sector, NGOs, and international organizations, so much so that gender training has become an industry (Kusakabe 2005; Dasgupta 2007; Mukhopadhyay 2007b; UNDP 2007). There is an inherent belief that the problem is due to socially embedded perceptions of gender role conflict that can be changed through gender training (Woodford-Berger 2004).

However, this book has shown that the problem of gender inequality in the public sector is the outcome of institutionalizing the patriarchal

control of women. Women's low representation and limited access to resources in the public sector are the effects of the patriarchal control and power of men over women. Gender inequality involves the interplay of deeper political issues of patriarchal power, privilege, interest, contest, and institutional structures (Verloo 2001; Abou-Habib 2007; Verloo et al. 2009). The expected transformation in organizational practices as a result of gender training does not occur because gender-trained employees return to work in the patriarchal framework of the public sector. More and better training cannot alone address the problem of gender inequality in the labor market. Social and liberal theories of gender inequality do not offer a solution to a problem rooted in patriarchal interests of groups. There is a need for the methodologies of change to be infused by an understanding of the political dimensions of gender inequality in the labor market. Rather than a single emphasis on training, patriarchal policies and procedures that create gender inequality in the public sector, and more broadly in the labor market, need to be challenged and changed.

Representation of Women in the Public Sector

This book argues that women's low representation in the public sector is the result of patriarchal control of men over women, for which gender training is not a solution. This position contrasts with the WID approaches and the social theories that consider low representation of women in institutions as the cause of gender inequality in the labor market. However, that is not to say that representation does not matter; but of the two, that is, representation of women or a change in patriarchal institutions, it is the latter that should come first. Patriarchal institutions limit women's representation and require change for an effective elimination of the problem of gender inequality in the labor market.

If the social roles of men and women were the cause of gender inequality in the public sector (Maccoby 1999: 118; Wharton 2005; Epstein 2007; Ballantine and Roberts 2010: 290), then women in the public sector of Pakistan would be found only in so-called women-appropriate professions. The evidence from chapter 4 suggests women work in all sectors of the economy. Proportionately more women than men in the rural areas are engaged in the agriculture and livestock sector of the economy, albeit at much-lower-paid levels. Women, although in small numbers, are in all departments of the public sector but they are located in lower scales and selective departments.

This study found that both men and women in middle management (lower pay scales) opposed the integration of more women in these scales, which suggests that the problem is political not social, as is assumed in the socialization theories. The patriarchal nature of the public sector restricts women's representation in the public sector of Pakistan. In the absence of policies for the equitable representation of women, training is not a solution to the problem of low representation of women.

The equitable representation of women faces severe resistance from both men and women in entry-level positions. The closure of these positions to women reflects the men's desire to retain opportunities of employment only for their own kind, and the women's desire to exclude other women by suggesting they compete with men to join the public sector reflects the women's attempt to consolidate and showcase their elite status in the public sector. Common to both is the interest of groups that contest for the monopoly over opportunities of employment, thus precluding any chance of equitable representation of women as a result of the goodwill generated by training.

While the study generally supports the argument that occupational closure results from the contest between the dominant and subordinate groups (Parkin 1979; Witz 1990), it also suggests a careful reading of the view that occupational closure is necessarily a function of the downward use of power by the dominant group (Özbilgin and Woodward 2003). The study shows that the use of power relates to contest, which can be horizontal as well as vertical. The downward use of power does not occur in cases where the dominant group feels secure due to lack of contest and risk to the privileged position, and so to some extent this qualifies the notion of occupational closure and the presence of contest between groups. Patriarchal benevolence occurs in the form of men who occupy senior positions supporting the integration of women in lower positions only because such a move does not put their privilege at risk. This also challenges the radical feminists' theories, which consider power largely as an attribute of sex (MacKinnon 2010). Men dominate not due to their sex but due to the patriarchal structures, which bestow undue power and privilege to them over women (Connell 2005; Johnson 2005). Power is a contested resource and both men and women, depending on their interest, may actively contribute to the building of the patriarchal systems that then sustains male privilege.

Do we need the integration of women, as recommended by some development agencies and government reports (GOP 1998; 2003; ADB 2000),

in the public sector of Pakistan? The study suggests we do because the representation of women is abysmally low (GOP 1998; 2003; 2006b) and without direct policies of integration the equitable representation of women is not possible. Can the integration of women, as assumed by the social role theories of gender inequality in the labor market, be taken to mean an elimination of the problem of gender inequality in the public sector? The study suggests it does not because integration does not change the patriarchal institutional structures (Longwe 1997; Cornwall 2003; Dasgupta 2007; Mukhopadhyay 2007a; 2007b; Batliwala 2010) but creates new interests and power structures in the existing patriarchal structures. Integration does not totally transform unequal gender relations (Kabeer 1994; Batliwala and Dhanraj 2007: 28; Kapur 2007: 125; Ban and Rao 2008) but rather it is the conflicting interests of groups (Dasgupta 2007: 34), which are overlooked by training, that make it an ineffective means for the elimination of gender inequality in the labor market. There is a need to examine the deeper issues of power in patriarchal institutions (Razavi 1997; Kabeer 1999; Mukhopadhyay 2007b: 138). Power depends on contest, and it is the power of women achieved through an elite status within organizations that can also result in occupational closure to other women. The power of men results in their opposition and occupational closure toward access to resources to the women already in the public sector.

Women's Access to Resources in the Public Sector

This book has argued that women's limited access to resources in the public sector is the effect of patriarchal control of men over women for which gender training is not a solution. This position contrasts with the view of economic theories of gender inequality in the labor market which argue that women's subordination owes its lack of access to capital alone (Calás and Smircich 1999: 226; Connelly et al. 2000; Aitchison 2003: 29; Chowdhury 2010). This book shows that capital is but one factor; the bigger picture involves institutional and social arrangements, which together disadvantage women in the public sector. Women's access to capital is gained through employment but patriarchal work arrangements deny them this capital. This assumption of an economic theory of gender inequality is not supported by the results of this study. The government of Pakistan pays equal salaries to men and women employees but structural impediments sustain the patriarchal institutional and the social system. There are trade-offs for working

women; they get access to some capital by working but it is taken away in the costs of the arrangements they have to make for childcare and the like, which typically the husband does not contribute to. The lack of childcare and other facilities not only affects women's earnings but may also be related to decision about whether to join and continue in the public sector (Barrientos and Kabeer 2004).

Patriarchy involves both the private and the public domains (Lovell 2000; Crompton 2001; Ferguson 2004; England and Folbre 2005). The private-public dichotomy, however, is arbitrary, and women's condition in one sphere is influenced by the other sphere (Beneria and Sen 1982; Jaquette 1982; Bandarage 1984; Kabeer 1994). The powerlessness of women in institutions results from the patriarchal arrangements that cause work-life imbalances for women (Acker 2006b; Emslie and Hunt 2009; Forma 2009; Karimi 2009; Pedersen et al. 2009), which equally affect women across the country. In the research, women were unequivocal that institutional policies on issues related to both material and nonmaterial resources such as childcare, toilets, transport, and higher organizational mobility, postings at family stations, and mechanisms to sort out day-to-day administrative issues in the public sector were required to help eliminate the problem of gender inequality in the public sector. Action on these issues lies beyond the realm of women's individual agency and belongs to the state. State legislation, policies, institutions, and mechanisms of accountability are required to transform patriarchal structures (Barrientos and Kabeer 2004), which cannot be transformed through training. But, as with the failure of the state to be an equal provider of education and health care (Khan 1997; Mbeer 1998; Barber 2010), the state of Pakistan has also failed to provide equitable access to resources for the working women.

Generally organizational hierarchy, with men in higher positions and women concentrated in the lower positions, is considered to result in women's poor access to resources (Acker and Houten 1974; Acker 1990; 1992; 1998; 2000; 2006a; 2006b; 2009) but this view ignores the resistance to women's increased access to resources that occurs horizontally at the lower positions. This study found evidence of occupational closure at the lower positions of the organizational hierarchy and patriarchal benevolence at the higher end of hierarchy. There was contest between groups of men and women over the control over resources in the lower positions, which shows that male power can be used horizontally to secure a claim over resources (Witz 1990). This finding, as with the similar finding on representation,

also seeks to challenge Özbilgin and Woodward's (2003) view that occupational closure is only possible through a downward use of power by the dominant group and suggests that a horizontal use of power is also possible. Gender inequality involves contest and competition between different interests and is thus inherently political (Verloo 2001; 2004; Verloo et al. 2009).

In summary, neither gender training nor WAD approaches to the representation of women in the labor market as a means to provide economic resources are sufficient to eliminate gender inequality in the public sector. The economic theories of gender inequality that consider that injecting women into the labor market would automatically result in their increased access to resources and their empowerment falter on the grounds of the complexity of gender relations that go beyond pure economic reasons to involve patriarchal structural constraints (McSweeney and Freedman 1980; Rathgeber 1990; Kabeer 1994; Momsen 2009). The form social reality takes depends on the nature of the interaction of social agents, and the rules and resources they draw upon (Giddens 1979; 1984). When men control both intangible and tangible resources including rules, policies, and facilities, the patriarchal reality is the outcome. With everything else being patriarchal, the mere integration of women could result in their exploitation in the form of cheap labor, uncongenial work conditions, and limited mobility (Elson and Pearson 1981; Safa 1981: 60). The alleviation of patriarchal constraints is a requirement for the empowerment of women (Jakimow and Kilby 2006). The extent to which it is achieved would reflect the extent to which the problem of gender inequality in the public sector is taken care of. Rather than training, patriarchal policies need to be changed for women's access to resources to be a matter of right and entitlement (Goetz 2007; Mukhopadhyay 2007a).

Institutional Practices in the Public Sector

This book has argued that patriarchal policies and organizational mandates and not gender training per se determine the activities of employees. GAD approaches consider training can bring change in institutional practices. There is a belief that training will result in institutional transformation and the elimination of gender inequality (Woodford-Berger 2004; Verloo 2005; Abou-Habib 2007; Mukhopadhyay 2007b; Tiessen 2007; Verloo et al. 2009). This research looked at actual changes in practices after gender

training of research participants and found that there were no changes in practices as a result of training, as the practices of employees were determined by institutional inertia to unchanged patriarchal policies. This is an important finding as it challenges the view that more and better training can result in institutional transformation (Howard 2002; Kusakabe 2005).

If institutional transformation were merely a function of the awareness of employees (Woroniuk, Thomas, and Schalkwyk 1996; Schalkwyk 1998), practices would have changed. The emphasis on the gender training of officials as a means of institutional transformation argued by Leo-Rhynie (1999), the Commonwealth Secretariat (1999b; 2001), Taylor (1999), and Frankson (2000) is misplaced, as it is based on naive notions of how institutional change can be effected (Charlesworth and Smith 2005: 18; Abou-Habib 2007; Dasgupta 2007; Mukhopadhyay 2007b; Mukhopadhyay and Wong 2007). A point that is emphasized is that GAD gender mainstreaming in theory supports transformation in patriarchal structures (COE 1998; Beveridge and Nott 2002; Daly 2005; Verloo 2005) but in practice it adopts the soft approach of gender training. The radical potential of the GAD political theories is thus negated by the adoption of the training approach, which echoes the social theories of gender inequality in the labor market.

Patriarchy is the basis of gender inequality in the public sector of Pakistan and patriarchal inertia in the public sector is due to patriarchal policies and organizational mandates. Change in practices does not occur because the public sector policies in all but one ministry do not embrace gender equality as an avowed organizational goal (GOP 1973c: 72). Institutional constraints prevent any change in behavior (Eisenstein 1990; Goetz 1997; Connell 2006), as they lack formal structures of accountability to staff (Kilby 2004; 2011) and encourage an informal approach to critical issues of discrimination and sexual harassment. The informal approach tends to give greater control to men over women and so the status quo strengthens patriarchy in institutions. When there are no institutional mechanisms, women have no recourse to remedy day-to-day injustices (MacKinnon 1987; 1993). Patriarchal institutional structures over a period of time have created privileges and interests of men (Walby 1989; 1990; 2000) and patriarchal structures and policies result in gender inequality (Woodford-Berger 2004; Abou-Habib 2007; Ahikire 2007; Dasgupta 2007).

The political theories of gender inequality in the labor market have long argued that patriarchy results in gender inequality in the labor market (Donovan 2000: 156; Aitchison 2003: 28; Eagleton 2003: 59). However, the proponents of the concept of classic patriarchy have believed that control of men over women is only a function of the power exercised by men in the family (Moghadam 2002; Shankar and Northcott 2009; Yount 2011). This research shows that the outcome of control by men over women, rather than being only a function of the exercise of power by men in the family, is also achieved through institutional mechanisms and policies. Power is not an attribute of sex per se but resides in institutional structures in the family and by extension in the public sector. Powerful positions in institutions are held by men (Johnson 2005; Shankar and Northcott 2009), with women's subordination resulting from the adoption of exclusionary strategies in modes of production, paid work, the state, and cultural institutions (Walby 1990: 20). Women in Pakistan have been victims of the patriarchal bias of the state for some time now (Mumtaz and Shaheed 1987; Weiss 2003; Kothari 2005; Mullally 2005; Shaheed 2010), with the disenfranchising of women in many ways (Mumtaz and Shaheed 1987; Weiss 2003; Mullally 2005; Rashid 2009; Shaheed 2010). State policies have resulted in the divisive gendered identities of its people (Naseem 2006; Durrani 2008; GOP 2009; Rashid 2009; Halai 2010) and the patriarchal arrangements have disadvantaged women (Laslett and Brenner 1989; Moser 1989; Østergaard 1992; Vijayamohanan, Asalatha, and Ponnuswamy 2009).

Rather than a focus on individuals, efforts need to be made to change organizational mandates (Dawson 2005), as change in theses patriarchal policies can result in a change in organizational practices (Mukhopadhyay 2004). Research participants from the Ministry of Women Development spent time on gender equality because it was part of their organizational mandate, while those from the Industries and Production Department, without such a mandate, did not spend any time on gender issues. Gender training has some benefits (Zaleski 2010) but it does not change the patriarchal institutions (Woodford-Berger 2004; Ahikire 2007; Mukhopadhyay 2007b). It is mechanisms of accountability that hold employees responsible for the elimination of gender inequality (Kilby 2004; 2006; Harcourt 2010). These mechanisms are missing in the case of the public sector of Pakistan.

In conclusion, gender inequality in the public sector is inherently political and the progress toward the elimination of gender inequality in the public

sector of Pakistan depends on a change in patriarchal policies rather than on gender training. The opposition to women's increased representation results from the patriarchal closure aimed at maintaining monopoly over opportunities and the elite status. Women's low access to resources results from patriarchal institutional mechanisms that also shape their powerlessness. Patriarchal structures, policies, and procedures shape employees' practices and put constraints in the way of actions for gender equality. A transformation in patriarchal institutions cannot be achieved through gender training and requires a fundamental shift in development methodologies, from a focus on gender training to effecting change in patriarchal institutional policies.

Future research on donors' interventions such as gender training must take on board the issues identified in the social, economic, and political theories to establish the missing link between theory and practice. Research on gender inequality in the public sector in Pakistan must go beyond the issue of a count of women to examine how patriarchal institutional arrangements result in women's low representation and their limited access to resources. This research may be replicated in provinces to further expand the base provided by this research. Similar research is desirable in other developing countries where gender training has been implemented to eliminate gender inequality in the labor market. Future research on the issue of gender inequality could include the perceptions of excluded women to make comparisons with included women. This research need is due to the findings of occupational closure in which the included men and women opposed the inclusion of excluded women. Research is also needed to further expand the concept of patriarchal benevolence. Research on patriarchal benevolence in an organization such as the Education Department in which women are present in senior positions could add new dimensions to the problem of gender inequality in the public sector.

APPENDIX 1

Interview Questionnaire

Interviewer: Khalid Chauhan
Questionnaire number ________
Date of interview (day/month/year): ________

1.0 Ethnographic Information of the Employee

1.1 Name (optional): __________________

1.2 Gender training (received): i. Yes ______ ii. No_________

1.3 Gender: i. Male _________ ii. Female ________

1.4 Government service: i. Federal government, Islamabad ________
ii. Government of AJK, Muzaffarabad ____

1.5 Department/organization/ministry (currently employed in): ________

1.6 Current job: Designation: _________
Scale: _________

2.0 Issue of Representation of Women

2.1 What is your opinion on fixing quota for women in public sector jobs? Why?

____

____

____

2.2 In your opinion what should be the percentage of women quota in public sector jobs? ___ %

3.0 Issue of Access to Resources

3.1 In your opinion which staff policies/practices in your office that, if changed, could bring immediate improvement in inequality between male and female employees? How?

____

____

____

3.2 Do you think that strategy for developing an encouraging work environment for female staff should be a part of government organization policies? What should be the leading agenda point of that strategy?

____

____

____

4.0 Issue of Organizational Practices

4.1 How many (if any) formal meetings/sessions have you arranged in your office specifically for highlighting gender issues? ________

____

____

4.2 How much time in your office you have spent on gender issues during last 30 days? Why?

____

____

____

4.3 Is there gender discrimination at the workplace? If so what are the major forms?

____

____

____

4.4 How many cases/complaints of gender discrimination, if so, have you dealt in the past two years?

____

____

____

4.5 How have you handled, if so, the cases of gender discrimination at the workplace?

____

____

____

4.6 Is there sexual harassment at the work place? If so what are the major forms?

____

____

____

4.7 How many complaints/cases of sexual harassment, if so, have you dealt in the past two years?

____

____

Note (any additional comments):

____

____

____

____

APPENDIX 2

The General Linear Model Used in the Research

UNIANOVA: Dependent variable (study subquestion/s) by Training, Gender, Organizational Position, Sociocultural context, and Organization.

/METHOD = SSTYPE (3)

/INTERCEPT = INCLUDE

/CRITERIA = ALPHA (0.05)

/*DESIGN* = Training, Gender, Organizational Position, Sociocultural context, and Organization + Training * Gender, Training * Organizational Position, Training * Sociocultural context, Training * Organization.

Notes

1 Introduction

1. Occupational closure is defined as the exclusion of women from the public sector. Parkin (1979: 56) considers exclusion as a result of the perceived competence of the members of an organization, which is considered sufficient, but Witz (1990: 44) argues that "gendered politics" are behind occupational closure and the strategies of occupational closure are "a means of mobilising male power in order to stake claims to resources and opportunities distributed via the mechanisms of the labour market." The book in hand argues that contest and interest for the claims to the monopoly over status and resources lead to occupational closure, the exclusion of women from the public sector of Pakistan.
2. The public sector in Muzaffarabad only represents the state of AJK (Pakistan-administered Kashmir).
3. This research used SPSS version 17 (Statistical Package for Social Sciences) procedure of general linear model (GLM) referred to as univariate analysis for identification of metathemes involving significant relationships.

2 Gender and Development

1. Linke (1968: 231) maintains that at the time Sweden, "a special case," was the only country whose aid program included vocational training for women to carry out population control programs.
2. The amendment reads as follows: "In recognition of the fact that women in developing countries play a significant role in economic production, family support, and the overall development process of the national economies of such countries, this part shall be administered so as to give particular attention to those programs, projects, and activities which tend to integrate women into the

national economies of developing countries, thus improving their status and assisting the total development effort."

3. The four recommendations made by the conference for action by the development agencies, institutions, and the member states of the UN are as follows: (a) give sustained attention to those initiatives that integrate women in the development process; (b) incorporate in their development plans, program and sector analyses, and program documents an impact statement of how such proposed programs will affect women as participants and beneficiaries, in consultation with the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women; (c) establish a review and appraisal system and undertake to serve in the design, implementation, and evaluation of programs and to use social and economic indicators as a means of measuring progress in the integration of women in the development process; and (d) ensure that women shall participate on an equitable basis with men at all levels of decision making that govern the planning and implementation of these programs, keeping in mind the principle of geographic distribution (UN 1976: 104–105).
4. Article 1 of CEDAW defines discrimination against women as "any distinction, exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex which has the effect or purpose of impairing or nullifying the recognition, enjoyment or exercise by women, irrespective of their marital status, on a basis of equality of men and women, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil or any other field."
5. While it is ratified, nearly 80 countries have formally lodged reservations to various clauses so that aspects do not apply to them.
6. According to Mahbub Ul Haq (1973), there were a number of indications at the time that the paradigm of economic development was in severe crisis. These included the realization of an unsatisfactory increase in per capita income to one US dollar per annum in the two decades of practice of the economic development paradigm; the concern that the increase had been uneven and unfavorable in terms of distribution toward the poorest population; the realization that countries such as Pakistan and Nigeria considered successful examples of the doctrine of economic development turned out to be "development disasters"; the concerns of developing countries indicating "development weariness" and frustration that was resulting in a desire for socioeconomic revolutions; and lastly, the realization in the development circles of the inefficacy of the dictum of growth for the sake of growth without distribution, which meant that in reality there was zero growth. He gave three reasons for the crisis in economic development: decisions by the developing countries to focus on high growth rates; mixed economies borrowing features of socialism and capitalism; and decisions to seek "generous assistance" from the developed countries so as to improve the standard of living.

7. The conference retained the integration of women as emphasized in the first world conference, noting that the progress toward the goal of 25 percent women in all professional positions had been very slow and that targets needed to be set and observed in this context. It asked for the appointment of coordinators to examine the policies with regard to ensuring equality in recruitment, promotion, and remuneration as well as ensuring action against sexual harassment and complaints of discrimination against the employed women. However, it included access to resources, which implied that just participation was not enough.
8. Davies et al. (1984) list a range of small-scale income generation projects in Egypt including items such as mats, hats, baskets, embroidery, dairy products, tailoring, shoe making, furniture, oriental rugs, floor tiles, and agricultural tools.
9. Ahmad (2009) reports that when Lord Bentinck abolished the practice, around three hundred Hindus lodged a petition to plead a revocation of abolition on the grounds that as a religious duty it was the privilege of the followers.
10. Ahmad (2009) reports one such incident: in 2008, Lalmati a 71-year-old lady from Chattisgarh jumped into the funeral pyre of her husband and was reduced to ashes.
11. According to Yount (2011), under the classic patriarchal systems women are not allowed to access the support of public institutions even in cases of violence, rape, or harassment. Such a move is thought to bring shame on the family and these women are accused of washing dirty linen in public, failing to do their spousal duties, and compromising the honor of the husband's family.
12. Martin (2006: 267) gives examples of the practice of gender discrimination in the workplace as an outcome of power differentials caused by men's occupying positions of power. For example, in a meeting, a salesman was throwing women's underwear on the table to amuse male colleagues but without thinking how it would be taken by female colleague. Another example is men rating women at lunchtime and not thinking it would be offensive to women.
13. In Pakistan, for instance, it was in 2010 that such a bill was passed, the implementation of which is still in process.
14. The trend to use religion is also common in other patriarchal cultural contexts. In India, the high-caste woman who walked up to the funeral pyre of her dead husband to self-immolate was eulogized. In Africa the cultural practice of genital mutilation is frequent. This is not related to religion but directly to patriarchy.
15. Batliwala and Dhanraj (2004) relate that in Andhra Pradesh, the state-managed credit program was considered a model but in practice the poorest women were excluded because they could not match the weekly contribution necessary for the continued membership of the self-help groups. Women could not bargain

with buyers because of the debt trap, and more distribution of loans adversely effected women in terms of mounting debt burden, increased working hours, and the hostility of men. Women's agency was reduced to the beneficiaries of state-controlled microcredit programs. And the state, except for giving loans, did not invest in the social sector issues that affect women, including provision of childcare so that girls could go to school, and a water supply near their houses.

16. Marchbank's (2000: 197) argument was based on her practical work experience at the time as a public servant in New South Wales in Australia, in which she found that barriers existed in state bureaucracy that constrained her effectiveness to pursue a gender-equality agenda. This suggests that in developing countries with stronger patriarchal and hierarchal norms the pressure must be greater.
17. Kilby (2003) in the study of NGOs in India developed a "downward accountability" model of how organizations adopt the processes that reflect "depth of accountability" as well as "level of formality." While the depth of accountability is meant to measure the feedback an organization provides to the people it claims to empower, it also serves to assess how likely the organization is to be accountable to these people without suggesting how much the organization is open to "rectification." Rectification, he believes, is a function of "level of formality," which also means people's access to organizations as a matter of right and ownership.
18. According to Bunch, Dutt, and Fried (1996), the conference was the culmination of a process of incremental gains made by the feminists, spanning the past few decades, such as the establishment of the Commission on the Status of Women under the initiative of the United Nations Economic and Social Council (UNECOSOC) in 1946; the enactment of the Convention on the Political Rights of Women in 1959; the enactment of the CEDAW in 1981; the agreement at the Nairobi Conference on the Forward Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women in 1985; the acceptance of the rights of indigenous and rural women by the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) in 1992; the acceptance of women's reproductive rights as human rights in the World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna in 1993 and the Cairo International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD) in 1994; and the acceptance as issues of the unemployment, poverty, and social inclusion of women in the World's Summit on Social Development in 1995.
19. Raghuram and Manorama (1995: 2164) criticized the declaration as more of a "moral agreement" and "an open and agreed commitment" that did not fix responsibility for the mainstreaming of gender.

3 From Gender Mainstreaming to Training

1. The Council of Europe (COE 1998: 12) defines the concept of gender mainstreaming as "the (re) organization, improvement, development and evaluation of policy processes, so that a gender equality perspective is incorporated in all policies at all levels and at all stages, by the actors normally involved in policy-making."
2. True and Mintrom (2001) in an analysis of events in 157 countries from 1975 to 1998 found that diffusion of gender mainstreaming in these countries was made possible by the transnational networks and in particular transnational feminist ideas.
3. This confusion was universal. Stratigaki (2005: 167), for instance, argued that "mainstreaming" not only evoked more confusion than any other gender equality term used in the European Union but also the European Union for quite some time after Beijing Conference lacked a clear definition of gender mainstreaming.
4. Booth and Bennett (2002) used the metaphor of a three-legged stool to highlight that equal opportunity, women, and gender mainstreaming all contributed to an effective gender equality policy. Similarly, Woodward (2003) used the analogy of a gender equality house in which gender mainstreaming was described as the thinking of a new architect able to overcome deficiencies of equal opportunity and affirmative action policies to transform women's issues from vertical special issues to horizontal general concerns.
5. Ahikire (2007: 40) has identified three types of training to achieve these objectives: (1) capacity building of women; (2) training of trainers; and (3) awareness-raising training for men and women. She maintains that the first kind of training assumes that women lack capacity and self-confidence; the second type assumes that gender knowledge is transferrable; and the third assumes that awareness of the consequences of inequality in individual and institutional life would result in a change in behavior at the personal and institutional levels.
6. According to Schalkwyk, Thomas, and Woroniuk (1996), the methodology adopted by the Swedish International Development Agency at the time in order to effect broader social transformation targeted three spheres for change: change within development agencies, change in the development programs for the developing countries, and change in the policies and programs of developing countries.
7. To Connell (2002), Geary's 400-page monograph that explained the realities of social life through "evolutionary speculation" came as a shock because it was published by the American Psychological Association.

8. The social construction of gendered knowledge has been a widespread obstacle to gender equality. The search for the meanings of the words "sex" and "gender," for instance, in the *Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary* found that the two terms are considered interchangeable ("gender noun [SEX]"). The meaning given in the dictionary read, "formal the physical and/or social condition of being male or female." The meaning is further elaborated with the sentence, "Does this test show the gender of the baby?" Similarly, the tendency to equate gender with sex was found to be pronounced in the online *Cambridge Dictionary of American English*, which described them as the same (gender [SEX]) and gave the meaning of gender as "the male or female sex, or the state of being either male or female." For details please see, Cambridge Advanced Learners Dictionary (Online): http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/british/gender_1, accessed on August 23 2010.
9. A research participant (Respondent ID: 034) from the Planning and Development Department who had had gender training informed the researcher, "When I see the project I raise objection and send it back on the ground that it does not include gender concerns, but it has resulted in delay in project approval and piling of work." This suggests that gender became another tool for the bureaucratic hindrance that is usually considered a hallmark of the public sector in Pakistan.
10. Patricia L. Howard (2002) found that despite the development sector's belief of the lack of gender knowledge and expertise at both the national- and the gender-project level in Honduras, gender project teams assembled in a workshop had remarkably similar views to the development agencies about how to effect change. Moreover, when they were given an opportunity, these participants were able to redesign, implement, and follow up the gender project.
11. Dasgupta (2007: 33) provides an example of how training programs are an insufficient input and cannot tackle the structural constraints that disadvantage women and are more severe in patriarchal societies. In 1998, as part of a women's empowerment program, she imparted gender training to all the staff of a project in northern India. As in all gender training programs, participants engaged in discussions and consultations and there was indication that it changed the cultural stereotypes. Since nobody protested, it could also have been due to the training being mandatory and the job dependent on gender training. However, the inadequacy of training became clear when a local person assaulted a female staff member. Police registered a case but when her gender-trained male colleagues were called by the court, they withdrew as witnesses and denied the occurrence of the incident. Clearly, gender training did not help men to raise their voice, which showed that "something was certainly missing here."

12. Participatory training methods are the techniques used in a training session to impart new knowledge, skills, and attitudes to the participants. The techniques used include group discussions, brainstorming, lectures, case studies, and role plays. The trainer makes use of slides, posters, and even videos to put the message containing new knowledge across to the participants.
13. The Ministry of Education, in line with its goal, adopted an education-sector development program to reduce the gender gap by increasing the enrollment rates of girls and made use of situational data of the Women Affairs Division located in the Ministry of Education. By contrast, Mukhopadhyay (2004) found that the declared policy of the Ministry of Agriculture was the capacity building of farmers for greater productivity, marketability, and profitability. This ministry did not make use of data about situational differences between men and women in the agriculture sector. It also did not consider how these developments would affect women.

4 Patriarchal Pakistan: Women's Representation, Access to Resources, and Institutional Practices

1. The efforts to impart gender training to public sector employees have been led by UNDP.
2. The Chapter on "Fundamental Rights" contained some very specific articles on equality between men and women. For example, Article 25 says, "(1) All citizens are equal before law and are entitled to equal protection of law. (2) There shall be no discrimination on the basis of sex alone. (3) Nothing in this Article shall prevent the State from making any special provision for the protection of women and children."

   The Chapter on the "Principles of Policy" also contained women-related articles. For example, Article 32 says, "The State shall encourage local Government institutions composed of elected representatives of the areas concerned and in such institutions special representation will be given to peasants, workers and women" and Article 34 says, "Steps shall be taken to ensure full participation of women in all spheres of national life."
3. Munir (1976: 215–216) considered these measures as inadequate for being included in the principles of policy rather than fundamental rights, which meant that infringement would not be a cause for legal action.
4. Table 4.1 shows the percentage of women at the higher levels and not the total percentage of women in the public sector, which also includes other levels from 1 to 16. When they are included, the overall percentage is about 5 percent. Public sector organizations in Pakistan are hierarchical and as per the report of the National Commission for Government Reforms (NCGR), 85 percent of the salary and wages bill in the federal government is disbursed to the

employees in subordinate basic pay scales (BPS) from 1 to 16 and only 15 percent from BPS 17 to 22 (GOP-NCGR 2008: 58). The commission taking note of this skewed organizational hierarchy with its wide base has recommended "the restructuring of Government at the Federal, Provincial levels, strengthening of the district governments, reorganisation of civil services, revamping of human resource management policies and practices, reengineering of business processes" (p. 5). It is pertinent to mention that the middle-, senior-, and executive-management levels are considered decision makers and the lower levels (BPS 1 to 16) are considered support staff whose main job is record keeping. Since gender training is provided to the middle- and senior-management levels, therefore this book is concerned with middle- and senior-management levels and has included research participants from BPSs 17, 18, and 19.

5. This is also skewed by professional categories of doctors and teachers in health and education.
6. According to Hashmi et al. (2007), although men usually consider livestock as a means of poverty reduction, they only encourage women to participate strictly under the cultural and societal imprints, which allow physical and monetary control to men over women. Shafiq (2008) points out that the extent to which women benefit from livestock depends solely on men. From the point of this research, as women's overwhelming participation in agriculture, livestock production and management does not automatically grant them the right of representation in the public sector organizations dealing with agriculture and livestock, where their participation remains low, their participation emerges as a legitimate research issue.
7. The Civil Servants (Appointment, Promotion and Transfer) Rules 1973 Clause 8-A states, "No promotion on regular basis shall be made to posts in basic pay scales 17 to 22 and equivalent unless the officer concerned has completed such minimum length of service, attended such training and passed such departmental examination, as may be prescribed from time to time." However, in professions that do not fall in the elite services category, it is well known that promotion for both women and men is much delayed beyond the minimum length of service as prescribed by the rules. Many people retire at the age of 60 in middle-management levels and few make it up to senior-management levels.
8. The ESTACODE refers to Establishment Division Office Memorandum No. 1/9/80-R.2 dated June 2, 1983, which prescribes the rules for promotion in BPSs 17, 18, 19, 20, and 21. It states, "Minimum length of service for eligibility for promotion for various grades. In pursuance of rule 8-A of the Civil Servants (Appointment, Promotion and Transfer) Rules, 1973, and in supersession of the instructions laid down in the Establishment

Divisions O.M NO.1/9/80-R-II(A), dated the 12th January, 1981, (Annexure), the President is pleased to decide that the minimum length of service for promotion to various grades shall be as follows: For promotion to Grade 18, [five] 5 years service in Grade 17. For promotion to Grade 19, [twelve] 12 years service in Grade 17 and above. For promotion to Grade 20, [seventeen] 17 years service in Grade 17 and above. For promotion to Grade 21 [twenty-two] 22 years service in Grade 17 and above."

9. Quota of 17 percent meant 60 out of 357 seats in the federal assembly, 66 out of 390 seats in Punjab, 29 out of 171 seats in Sind, 22 out of 130 seats in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK), previously North West Frontier Province (NWFP), and 11 out of 67 seats in Balochistan provincial assemblies.
10. According to Reyes (2002), as a result of these changes, in the direct local bodies elections held in 2000–2001, as many as 36,187 women were elected; 2 of them became nazims, 1 niab nazim, and 11 union council nazims.

    Nazim is the head of an administrative unit (district or subunit) as per the new local government system introduced by the Musharraf government through the promulgation of a Local Government Ordinance in 2001. The local government system is based on five principles of devolution of political power, distribution of resources to the districts, monitoring by citizens, decentralization of management functions, and operational autonomy to district-level offices. The district government is headed by a nazim.
11. By contrast, the implementation of quotas by the government of AJK at the smaller administrative level (district as against province) since the 1970s has greatly helped to achieve interdistrict parity in the representation of people in the public sector organizations. In AJK population-based quotas are spread into 12 categories: District Neelum 3.3 percent, District Muzaffarabad 12.15 percent, District Hattian Bala 4.55 percent, District Bagh 7.17 percent, District Haveili 2.83 percent, District Poonch 9 percent, District Sudhnoti 6 percent, District Kotli 13 percent, District Mirpur 9 percent, District Bhimber 8 percent, Refugees (1947) 19 percent, and Refugees (1989) 6 percent.
12. Under promotion rules that mandate vacancy and years of service, a 5 or 10 percent quota for women would never see them reach senior levels. To seek a change even after the next 20 years or so, the quota would have to be well over 50 percent.
13. These included ministries of Women's Development, Establishment Division, Women's Development Departments, Federal Bureau of Statistics, Services and General Administration Departments, and Planning and Development Departments in provinces, as well as autonomous and semiautonomous bodies, banking institutions, and advisory boards.
14. The ESTACODE regulates the service condition of government employees.

15. According to the plan, the ministries of (1) Finance, (2) Law, Justice and Human Rights, (3) Labour and Manpower, (4) Information and Broadcasting, (5) Planning and Development Division, (6) Establishment Division, (7) Education, Social Welfare and Special Education, along with the National Commission on the Status of Women, the Federal Bureau of Statistics, Provincial Women Development Departments and GRAPs, District Governments, and the Women Development and Social Welfare Department Government of AJK were declared strategic partners in the implementation of the Plan. The important sectors of reform included (1) Political Participation by Women, (2) Institutional Restructuring, (3) Women Employment in Public Sector, (4) Policy, Budgeting and Public Expenditure Mechanism (Gender Responsive), and (5) related Capacity Building Interventions.
16. It was launched by Ulema to press the government to declare the Ahmediya community as non-Muslims. The Ahrars and Jama'at-i-Islami played a lead role in the agitation. Maulana Maududi wrote extensively against the Ahmediya community and in 1953 large-scale violence erupted in Lahore. Maududi was arrested, charged with inciting violence, and sentenced to death. However, his sentence was commuted. The Munir Commission Report deals in detail with the issues related to the agitation (Bahadur 1975).
17. The result of these development policies was that by 1968, almost 66 percent of industrial assets, 70 percent insurance funds, and 80 percent bank assets fell into the hands of 22 big families (Sayeed 1980).
18. Ralph Braibanti (1966) has recorded that in 1964 this small group of CSP was holding the most influential posts such as federal secretaries (89%), secretaries in province (66%), divisional commissioners (75%), and district officers (51%).
19. As per rules, the sanctioned strength of CSP was 759 (618 through direct recruitment and 141 through promotion). The schedule to the rules specified 129 senior posts in the federal government, 128 posts in East Pakistan (present-day Bangladesh), and 156 in West Pakistan. Similarly the judicial posts in East and West Pakistan to be filled in from CSP were 36 and 48, respectively (Nazim 1972: 3)
20. Through this resolution 60 percent of the posts in the Economic pool were reserved for the CSP. Interestingly, through this twisting mechanism, CSP with generalist approach could easily bypass the professionals, and were promoted over their shoulders.
21. The main recommendations of Cornelius Report included (a) establishment of a new administrative structure with equal opportunity for every member to be promoted to the top position as against the system favoring the CSP; (b) emphasis on specialist knowledge and experience rather then the generalist

knowledge of the CSP as a criterion for the suitability for a job; (c) end of reservations and the Economic Pool favoring CSP; and (d) the focus on development at the district level through the creation of the post of district commissioner with a dual function of coordinating development work and working as head of district administrative tribunal (Nazim 1972: 27–28).

22. It is, however, pertinent to point that the writers and the reform efforts at the time focused largely on the issues around interservice rivalry wherein the power was inequitably tilted in favor of CSP and in their analysis women remained totally invisible. In the late 1960s politicians entered the debate and argued that bureaucrats had nothing to do with policy making. In a way it was promoted that the ills being faced by the nation were all due to the bad planning on the part of bureaucrats not in touch with the reality of Pakistani people. It was suggested that policy making was the domain of politicians and bureaucrats should be restricted to its implementation.
23. Lawrence Ziring and Laporte (1974) indicated that the preferential and privileged status of CSP was not due to any "fortuitous circumstances" and could easily be traced back to the CSP Rules of 1954, issued by E. A. Franklin, then establishment secretary. Further, in their analysis, 759 senior posts were reserved for CSP class only denying an equal opportunity to rest of a million civil servants.
24. The total number of civil servants was about 1 million, but 225 out of 300 seniormost positions were held by the CSP. This concentration of power was equally disliked by other civil servants and politicians; further, critics believed that it had "nourished and supported autocratic military or dictatorial regimes, and prevented the march of democracy and promoted the continuation of British Imperial Rule" (Burki 1988: 99).
25. According to Shahid Javed Burki, 1,374 officers were inducted during Bhutto's government in a period of four years from 1973 to 1977 through a newly introduced system of Lateral Entry. The appointments were out of the purview of Federal Public Service Commission, which is a constitutional body to recommend such appointments on the basis of competitive examinations. The reforms therefore opened up government jobs to "people of all ages" close to power as against "few college graduates" (1988: 102).
26. The Islamization program has been described by Weiss (1985) as "unparalleled in the modern history of Islam in South Asia" (p. 863). It covered four areas of social life: economy, judiciary, legal code, and educational policy. The economic measures included the introduction of a system of charity (*Zakat*), the abolition of interest (*Riba*), and a new interest-free banking system on the pattern of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. This did not adversely affect women because the majority of women worked for subsistence. Conversely, widows

and orphans are believed to have benefited to some degree from the amount of charity distributed among them. In his address to the parliament (*Majlis-e-Shoora*) in 1983, Zia disclosed that his government had distributed an amount of 200 million US dollars to the poor and needy. However, the legal reforms including the promulgation of the Offence of Zina Ordinance severely affected women (Weiss 2003). According to Mullally (2005), the ordinance was against the spirit of Article 25 of the constitution. The ordinance stated, "A man and a woman are said to commit *zina* (rape including consensual sex) if they wilfully had sexual intercourse without being legally married to each other" (GOP 1979).

27. The state-run Pakistan Television and the educational institutions were directed to strictly follow the so-called Islamic dress code. Women were to cover their heads with piece of cloth (*dupattaha*), they were prohibited from watching sports in public, their right to drive a vehicle was questioned, and men and women found in public places were questioned about their legitimate relationship. State-triggered morality campaigns became the order of the day and public space became the battleground of contested ideas at the cost of social tolerance.
28. The initial draft of the proposed amendment floated by the Council of Islamic Ideology suggested that two male or a male and two female witnesses must be called to give evidence in all kinds of cases to prove it. When women and lawyers opposed this strongly, the final law made such an arrangement only applicable to cases of finance, on the basis of the presumed forgetfulness of women as if it were in their nature. According to Weiss (2003), in view of this amendment men and women were no longer considered as "equal economic partners" by the state of Pakistan. Second, the state under Zia's regime also went on to experiment with the idea of a proper Islamic form of government. For the purpose, a 20-member commission headed by Muhammad Zafar Ahmed Ansari was established and mandated to review the reports of the cabinet subcommittee, Council of Islamic Ideology, and Committee of the *Majlis-e-Shoora* (parliament) and to advise the president about the proper Islamic form of government. The commission in Chapter 2, clause 5, of its report proposed that henceforth the president should only be a Muslim male. Likewise Chapter 3, clause 2, of the report recommended that women aspiring to contest election for a seat in parliament must be over 50 years of age and must have the prior permission of their husbands. The report also recommended a 5 percent quota of reserved seats for women in the parliament but proposed that selection be made by the president (Amir) from among double the number of women nominated by a special council established for the purpose. The report also recommended that unmarried women public sector employees should not be posted abroad. Only

one member, Justice (Rtd.) Muhammad Gul, dissented, calling the report discriminatory and antiwomen; the rest agreed.

29. Shaheed (2010) points out that the religious riots in 1953 were supported by the provincial government of Punjab to destabilize the central government. Similarly, when in 1965 General Ayub Khan faced the challenge of election from Miss Fatima Jinnah, he solicited religious opinion, which pronounced that a woman cannot become the head of state in a Muslim country.
30. According to Patel and Gadit (2008), *Karo-Kari* is a tradition of willful murder of a woman alleged to have brought shame and dishonor to the family by indulging in illicit relationships such as premarital sex or an extramarital affair. It began in rural Sindh and has been reported in other provinces such as Balochistan.
31. Maqsood et al. (2005) found that 34 percent of women had experienced transport problems.
32. Qureshi found that all women in her study complained about the inadequacy of facilities in their hostels: 23 percent considered transport as the number one issue; 18 percent complained of homesickness for not being able to visit their homes due to job considerations and transport problems.
33. Winkvist and Akhtar (2000) in their study noted one Pakistani woman praying "that no daughters are born in poor people's houses; if God wants to give daughters He should give them to rich people only (*khuda agar beti daina chahta he to ameer logoon ko day*)" (p. 77) because it is the rich people who have access to resources.
34. The National Education Policy, GOP (2009) acknowledges that the adult literacy rate (2004–5) for Pakistan is much less than for other countries such as India (61%), Iran (82.4%), Sri Lanka (90.7%), Indonesia (90.4%), Vietnam (90.3%), and even Egypt (71.4%).
35. According to Upadhyay, Barton, and Zahur (2005), in Pakistan the term "ghost school" is used for schools that only exist on paper, not in reality; in the case of such schools, government monetary allocations are divided among individuals for personal benefit.
36. According to GOAJK (2009), "Education has been a priority of the Government of Azad Jammu and Kashmir as about 26% of its total recurring budget besides 8% of the total development budget is allocated to this sector" (p. 6). As against this, the federal government of Pakistan since the 1980s has spent less than 2 percent of its budget on education, which shows the difference in priority of the two governments.
37. Durrani (2008) also found that in the category of "everyday characters," 57.8 percent were found to be male, and 42.1 percent female, and the smaller gap in this category was due to the English textbook, in which 57.1 percent

were male and 48.2 percent were female. Furthermore, English textbooks were authored by four females, Urdu by three males and one female, and social studies by all males. The researcher also found that Urdu and social studies textbooks included 84.8 percent male and only 15.1 percent female icons. This minimal representation of women in the textbooks was echoed in the students' drawings; boys' drawings contained no images of girls and only images of men, usually carrying a flag or saluting; girls' drawings contained more images of men and fewer women; and girls' drawings showed men as saluting and active with women in cooking activities or simply passive as clad in national dress.

38. Textbook analysis revealed that in the category of illustrations through pictures, 78 percent were male as against only 21 percent female. The researcher also found that Urdu and social studies textbooks included 85 percent male and only 15 percent female icons.
39. The text shows how Hazrat Khudija, the prophet's wife, was a "successful trade woman" to the extent that her "trade caravan was so huge that all the trade caravans of Quresh put together could not match hers" and how after marriage she delegated "the prophet with her wealth" and got "herself busy in the domestic chores" (Urdu textbook pages 79–80 in Durrani 2008: 602). By contrast, these textbooks used iconic male personalities of the Islamic faith such as Hazrat Imam Hussain as well as of the Mughal era such as Tipu Sultan to show how they died fighting the enemy.
40. For example, Ayesha Jalal (1991) notes how Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanawi's (1864–1943) influential book *Bihishti Zewar* (Jewels of Paradise) written in the early twentieth century was used as a guide for respectable women. This actually set the norms to control and condition women of the subcontinent in the name of Islam.
41. Most policy documents use gendered language such as "he," "him," and "his" (e.g., ESTACODE), and suggest a male-dominated culture. The ESTACODE prescribes the conduct and discipline matters of government servants in the following words: "(15). Conduct. The conduct of a civil servant shall be regulated by rules made, or instructions issued, by Government or a prescribed authority, whether generally or in respect of a specified group or class of civil servants. (16). Efficiency and discipline. A civil servant shall be liable to prescribed disciplinary action and penalties in accordance with the prescribed procedure" (GOP 1973c: 28). The webpage of the Establishment Division reads, "The words 'he,' 'his,' 'him,' 'himself' used in this document, shall be deemed to denote the words 'she,' 'her' and 'herself.'"
42. The other committees include Cabinet Committee on Agriculture (CCA), Cabinet Committee on Energy (CCE), Cabinet Committee on Investment

(CCOI), Cabinet Committee on Privatization (CCOP), and Cabinet Committee on Regulatory Bodies (CCRB).

43. AASHA (2010: Background) has given following examples of sexual harassment: "At home: giving less importance to the girl child, belittling her, trivialising the woman working at home, not allowing her to take decisions, inflicting violence, etc. On the streets: catcalling, touching, putting down, making fun, intimidating and singing to tease women. In the buses: touching, pushing, humiliating, swearing and using vulgar language. In public places: staring, touching, intimidating, shoving, aggressively stopping the way, restricting entrance to places, chasing and inflicting violence. At workplace: leering, staring, making passes, discriminating, abusing authority for sexual favours, asking out, flirting, inflicting violence."
44. There is little academic literature on sexual harassment in Pakistan but anecdotal evidence, newspaper reports, and even TV programs have highlighted the sexual harassment of women in workplaces such as NGOs and public sector universities.
45. Hamid, Johansson, and Rubenson (2010) showed how women are forced into submissiveness and how women in their study learnt to be secure through obedience to their husbands. One woman in their study recalls that a woman who married by her own will was later beaten up by her husband; therefore the research participant believed that the beaten-up woman should have married as per the decisions of her parents and not by her own free will. Another girl showed how her mother told her the virtue of obedience, as she says, "My mother tells me to show *sabar* (patience) and not answer back" (p. 4). Similarly, Farooq et al. (2010) analyzed police records and hospital emergency departments from July 2007 to June 2008 in the city of Rawalpindi with a population of 1.6 million and found that of the total reported cases of violence against women, 74 percent (233) occurred at home and were perpetrated by parents and close family members. But 96 percent (120) cases were described as self-harm by women rather than by male family members.
46. Nasrullah and Muazzam analyzed cases of burns as reported in the leading newspapers during 2004–5 and documented by the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP), and found that in a total of 222 reported burn cases, 74 percent were of women aged 18 or above, 95 percent of whom were married. Moreover, in 34 percent of the cases, the reported cause was stove bursting, in 33 percent women were set on fire, and in 13 percent acid was thrown on women. In 52 percent of the cases the perpetrator was the husband and in 23 percent of the cases perpetrators were in-laws. Moreover, while 49 percent of burns were reported to be intentionally inflicted, the remaining 51 percent were reported to be accidental. From a mental health perspective, Sobia Haqqi

and Abdul Faizi (2010) found a significant prevalence of depression in victims of domestic violence. These researchers, in a questionnaire-based study involving 171 married women patients in the Psychiatry Department of the Aga Khan University hospital, found that 69.5 percent of patients reported some form of domestic violence such as shouting (32.2%), threats (25.1%), slapping (20.5%), kicks (14 %), pushing (21.1%), threats or use of weapon (8.8%). These researchers also found a high prevalence of depression (62%) among the victims of domestic violence.

47. The HRCP (2009) reports that in 2009 alone there were 1,404 reported cases of murder of women, 647 of whom were killed in the name of honor, 928 cases of rape, 563 suicides, 135 burn cases, and 205 cases of domestic violence including torture, battering, attempts at murder, shaving, and amputation (p. 189). The report (2009) cites a case: on February 12, 2009, Dr. Maria Shah, a private medical practitioner, while on duty in Shikarpur and examining her patients was attacked with acid because allegedly the attacker wanted to marry her, and on her refusal used to harass her. Sixty percent of her body was burnt as a result of the attack and after one month she died in Karachi. In other incidents in 2008, five women were buried alive in Nasirabad Balochistan Province, and in the same year, in the district of Khairpur of Sindh, Tasleem Solangi, a woman was thrown to hungry dogs and was killed.
48. The optimism about the state even in the wake of extreme adversity continues in other parts of the report such as the references that initiatives such as "school meal program (Tawana Pakistan) are already under way" (World Bank 2005: 61). And in health information, "Pakistan has already begun to put such programs in place successfully" (ibid.: 141).
49. According to the World Bank (2011), "PPAF has issued 1.5 million micro-credit loans, (average loan size US$ 150), benefiting nearly 9 million people. Over the last seven years PPAF has driven the micro-finance sector growth from 60,000 borrowers to more than 1.25 million active borrowers in the sector."
50. Other programs include financial assistance for polio eradication and HIV-AIDS related projects; basic infrastructure and services development schemes for low-income communities in NWFP and AJK through community-based organizations (CBOs); assistance for the government's National Trade Corridor Improvement Program (NTCIP), which aims at building road and logistic infrastructure for reducing business costs and increasing industrialization and market competitiveness.
51. This was also assisted by other donors including the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (NORAD) and Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA). This project was housed in the federal and

provincial Planning and Development Departments and included the following departments and institutes: Education Department; Environment Department; Finance Department; Health Department; Labour Department; National Institute of Public Administration; Public Health Engineering (Water and Sanitation) Department; Services and General Administration Department; Social Welfare and Women's Development Department; and Economic Affairs Division. The intended goal of the project was capacity building of "government officials to mainstream gender in: (i) formulation, (ii) implementation, and (iii) monitoring and evaluation of government policies, plans, programmes and projects in all areas of development." The four objectives of the project were as follows: gender sensitization of government employees; capacity building for planning analysis monitoring of projects from a gender perspective; development of a gender segregated computer database; and the development of institutional mechanisms for accountability in government offices. However, at the rollout stage gender training became the approach of this project.

52. Under this program, in 2008 alone, 1,757 case of disputes were entertained and 1,331 (85%) were resolved.
53. The structural constraints to gender equality that belong to the realm of state intervention have been identified in a UNDP commissioned study conducted by the Asia Foundation, which identified, for example, many failings of the criminal justice system such as the failure of police to timely lodge and investigate cases of rape; poor or delayed medical examination; long and unending trails and courts, which result in delayed decisions (The Asia Foundation 2008: 23). The study also pointed to the bias of police against women and the rigid approach taken by the courts in which judges invariably acquitted accused persons due to poor evidence such as the medical examination or signs of scratches not noted by the police, all of which have to do with institutional functioning and not victims as such (ibid.).

5 Echoes of Patriarchal Benevolence, Fierce Resistance to Equality, and Institutional Inertia

1. Where training had some effect, it depended on a level of factor, suggesting the effect on attitude was due to that level of factor in conflict with other levels of that factor, not entirely due to training as such.
2. The univariate analysis of variance is exploratory and identified the significant and insignificant relationships between the independent and dependent variables. For example, it showed that employees' responses across locations significantly differed. The patterns of the differences were then teased out through

the cross-tabulation analysis that gave a clearer picture of the percentages of employees who had a particular opinion on the representation of women. The same applies to all questions in the study.

3. This was also confirmed in response to question as to the extent of quotas research participants desired should be implemented. It was found that the attitudes were generally favorable in Muzaffarabad with 54 percent women and 29 percent men in the study sample from Muzaffarabad desiring a higher quota for women. By comparison, only 25 percent of women and 17 percent of men in the sample from Islamabad supported the higher quotas for women. The support for the higher quotas for women among both women and men was much higher in Muzaffarabad than Islamabad (almost double), and in both locations more women (54% and 25%, respectively) than men (29% and 17%, respectively) wanted a higher quota, thus confirming that attitudes toward women's representation through quotas were more favorable among women in Muzaffarabad.
4. To examine the interaction of gender training and organization in determining employees' opinions about affirmative action for women, a descriptive cross-tabulation analysis was conducted with Training and Organization as independent variables and OrgFixQuotas as the dependent variable. This new variable was carved out by recoding the dependent variable "opinion on fixing quota." For this purpose all responses coded as 1 and 2 were recoded as 1 and 2 but responses coded as 3, 4, and 5 were recoded as 3. This was done to trace the clear pattern of support for or opposition to affirmative action in the organizations.
5. It is pertinent to mention here that quotas have for long been in practice in terms of enrollment of women into the medical colleges. Men in colleges generally believe that women's intake into medical colleges through quotas has been at their expense and now the time has reached that men in medical colleges are fewer in number and hence they need quotas, not women.
6. "Family station" means a place of posting in proximity to the family home of employees. Women who are posted far from their homes have to travel a great distance to reach the offices, which, given the obsolete transport system, in itself proves to be an ordeal.
7. It was observed that for a woman employee in Muzaffarabad, the existing room was altered to add a toilet. Whether she would require another toilet with her room if she were to be promoted was not known. As women were only few, the recreational areas were de facto male spaces. Given the cultural constraints and women as a significant minority in institutions, neither women nor men considered it appropriate for a few women to be among majority of men.

8. The social norms did not permit toilets constructed for men to be used by women, which by any standard were the worst-kept part of the public sector institutions.
9. Although training as a whole was not significantly related to the attitude of research participants about the need for change, the impact of training is illustrated in table 5.5.
10. The contribution referred to is in the form of rural women engaging in agricultural work. Women's representation in the Agriculture Department is minimal.
11. The employee was referring to the political level of government.

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